THE DAILY WORKER RAISES THE STANDARD FOR A WORKERS' AND FARMERS' GOVERNMENT

# THE DAILY WORKER

Entered as Second-class matter September 21, 1923, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

5 Cents Including Saturday Magazine Section. On all other days Three Cents per Copy.

VOL. I. No. 341. Subscription Rates: Outside Chicago, by mail, $6.00 per year In Chicago, by mail, $8.00 per year. SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1924 Published Daily except Sunday by THE DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO., 1640 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Illinois.

# OIL MEN PAID STOCK LOSSES OF OFFICIALS

# U.S. Scandal Makes Britons Forget Troubles

## BRITAIN IS FACED BY GIANT TIEUP

### One Million Dockers Threaten Strike Today

(Special to The Daily Worker)

**LONDON, Feb. 15.—One million dock workers prepared today to quit work tomorrow and tie up every port in the United Kingdom unless a last minute settlement cancels the strike order.**

Scenes at the huge docks of the port of London at daybreak were of unprecedented activity, as shipping companies speeded efforts to clear cargoes before the impending paralysis of transports should set in.

**Seek to Break Deadlock.**

Dock workers executives and employers were in conference seeking to break the deadlock that has existed since Feb. 1.

The threatened strike is national in scope. It was voted at a meeting of national delegates representing the Transport and General Workers' Union, (300,000 members) the National Union of General Workers (443,000), the National Amalgamated Union of Labor (170,000), United Order of General Laborers, (150,000), Amalgamated Society of Enginemen, Motormen, Electricians, etc., (40,000) and other similar organizations.

**Demand Wages Restored.**

The men's complaint is that wages, since 1920, have fallen from 16 shillings a day in the large ports and 15 shillings a day in the small ports, to 10 shillings and 9 shillings respectively.

They ask reversion to the former rates and a guaranteed week.

In the larger British ports today there are more workers than jobs. Consequently the men line up at dawn and a foreman picks in order the number he needs for the day.

## LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS GETTING READY TO STRIKE

### "Take Back Expelled Membership," Demand

A strike committee of seven has been elected by local 100, comprising the Dress and Skirt Makers' of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, to set a date for a walkout in Chicago, if the final overtures made by the union to the bosses are rejected.

Strike talk along Market Street had filled Wicker Park Hall, with local 100 members who manifested an intense interest in the possible battle against the arrogance of the employers who have flatly refused to discuss any change in the present unsatisfactory agreement which expires on Monday, February 18.

Report was made upon efforts to secure additional concessions from the organized employers, who are only a small section of the trade. Employers are to be classified in three groups; firstly, eleven large firms that organized in an association which had signed the expiring agreement; secondly, forty or fifty firms which had signed agreements individually with the union and thirdly, the non-union shops.

**Union Overtures Rejected.**

After letters warning of the expiring agreement had been sent to the first and second groups, the first group's association representatives and attorney had held two conferences with the International Ladies' Garment Workers representatives on Feb. 8 and 13, both without results owing to the overbearing attitude of the association's spokesmen, particularly its lawyer, in refusing even

(Continued on page 2.)

## DEADLY MEDICINE

They Say the Teapot Oil Dope Has Killed the Republican Party.

## ARMY TURNS HERRIN OVER TO BIG BIZ

### Rotarians, Babbits and Legion to Rule

**HERRIN, Ill., Feb. 15.—Herrin is no longer ruled by the Ku Klux Klan. That task is now assumed by the Chamber of Commerce. Major General Milton Foreman went to Herrin ostensibly to restore law and order.**

What he actually accomplished was to organize the bankers and business men and some labor officials, whose names are kept a secret for obvious reasons with a view to deposing the regularly elected officials of Williamson County, and establish a dictatorship of the so-called "non-partisan" elements under the leadership of the American Legion.

The work of the Ku Klux Klan was too crude. The new regime is expected to function more smoothly and effectively but more detrimental to the interests of organized labor.

**Young Not Arrested.**

The militia took no action against the Ku Klux Klan which violated the law in assuming dictatorial power in Herrin, and threw its officials in jail. S. Glenn Young, Klan brigand, was disarmed. He still remains in Williamson County and tho he is indicted his arrest is not yet reported.

Only one battalion of troops is now left on the scene. The Chicago militia men left today.

**Klan Volunteer Law Upholders!**

The decision to withdraw the troops was arrived at after Judge E. N. Bowed announced that on his own initiative he had decided to call a special grand jury on March 3rd, to fix culpability for the riots. The American Legion, **Klansmen and anti-Klansmen alike, agreed to offer themselves as deputy bailiffs to the court.** The business elements are stepping on each other's heels in their hurry to get on the Chamber of Commerce bandwagon.

## *Negro Workers Get Cause Before Race Congress Despite Miller; Demand Unions Drop Color Line*

The Negro All-Race Assembly, or Sanhedrin, closed late last night with the Workers Party representatives winning thru a declaration of a campaign for removing the color line in the labor unions still discriminating against the Negro.

This labor program calls for "An appeal to the American Federation of Labor for the fullest and equal recognition of Negro workers, in practice as well, as in theory," and it demands that the Negro press give its full co-operation in educating Negro workers to the need of organization.

**Machine Revising Labor Report.**

At the last moment, before The DAILY WORKER went to press, it was discovered that Dean Kelly Miller's appointed committee on "Permanent Results," was attempting to revise the labor program and that its revision would not be submitted to the Sanhedrin.

It is not believed, however, that the most important feature will be stricken out.

The Workers Party educational program calling for a constitutional amendment forbidding any segregation of races will be accepted in modified form by the education committee, but its findings will also go before the committee for Permanent Results.

**Real Estate Sharks Oppose.**

Influence of real estate sharks of the Negro race appears to have killed the most vital clause in the workers report on housing which attacks the segregation evil by demanding that all landlords be compelled to let their houses to the first comer, regardless of race, at listed prices. Final copies of the resolutions as modified by the Committee on Permanent Results, will be printed in the next issue of The DAILY WORKER if they are ready then.

**Labor Will Force Issue.**

Negro labor will continue to function in the All Race movement to force thru more and more of its program for the betterment of the workers and farmers who represent 98 per cent of the Race—however much this labor program is opposed by Dean Miller and the business men of the Race working with him.

Permanent organization of the Sanhedrin is being effected as this is being written. Seven men will be selected by the committee for permanent results and these seven men will run the organization until the next Congress.

**Miller Represents Government.**

Dean Miller will sit on the temporary governing body of seven, so the too-respectable, negative policy is in danger of continuing until the next congress which may not be called for a year. Dean Miller's policy is one that reflects the Negro policy of the government. He is professor of sociology at Howard University, a government subsidized institution at Washington, D. C. Working with him are the most conservative elements in the Race—exploiters of labor and professional men who cater to white capitalists or gain by the maintenance of the policy of segregation.

The committee of seven will function until the next congress which will be elected by all Negro organizations that wish to join. Each national organization will be allowed five delegates, with an additional one for every 50,000 members; and state organizations will be represented at a decreased rate. The final shape of the new constitution is being worked out in committee and will be

(Continued on page 2.)

## OIL SCANDAL ALTERS ELECTION LINE-UP, SAYS LONDON DAILY EXPRESS

**LONDON, Feb. 16—The Teapot Dome disclosures have altered the whole course of the forthcoming presidential elections in the United States, the Daily Express said today. "The situation created by the Washington scandal may have a world wide effect."**

**The British press today featured on front pages the situation in Washington, temporarily sidetracking the labor government and its troubles, the impending dock strike, reparations, etc.**

## $1,000,000 SLUSH FUND AIDED LOSERS

### New Investigations Start; McLean Summoned

(Special to The Daily Worker)

**WASHINGTON, Feb. 16.—Officials high in the government lost heavily in stock market plunges a year or more ago and a $1,000,000 "slush fund" was used to cover their losses, according to private information given today as a tip to the Senate committee investigating the oil reserves scandal.**

When the plight of the officials became known to some of their friends in Wall Street, $1,000,000 is said to have been raised and transferred from a New York to a Washington bank.

Relation of the $1,000,000 fund to the oil scandal is expected to be established by disclosures showing that big oil men subscribed the money.

This million was used purely as a loan, according to the story told the committee and all of it was repaid but $200,000.

A dispute over the $200,000 which still is believed unsettled caused hard feeling between the Wall Street men who raised the money and at least one who was involved as a borrower from the fund. Thru this hard feeling the senate committee hopes to ferret out the truth about the transaction.

**McLean to Be Grilled**

Edward B. McLean, millionaire Washington publisher, is reported hurrying north from Palm Beach to tell the committee whether he knows anything about the fund. A subpoena was issued for McLean and he wired his newspaper in Washington he was leaving immediately.

Some prominent New York financiers, supposed to be "in to know" on everything in the street, are to be called to see if they can advance any information.

Senator Walsh, leading investigator, announced Otto H. Kahn and Benjamin F. Yoakum, former railroad president, would be subpoenaed.

Calling of McLean created a new sensation. It was his testimony regarding a $100,000 "loan" to Albert B. Fall which really opened up the present startling scope of the inquiry. This testimony was given at Palm Beach some weeks ago when McLean told Senator Walsh that Fall borrowed $100,000 in checks to buy a ranch, but three days later returned the checks uncashed and said he had arranged to get the money elsewhere.

Fall previously had said he got the purchase price of the ranch from McLean. McLean's story started a whole train of disclosures, including E. L. Doheny's story of a $100,000 loan to Fall and J. W. Zevely's story of a $25,000 Sinclair loan and gave the committee many new leads bearing on the leasing of the naval reserves.

**Vanderlip Present**

Frank A. Vanderlip, New York financier, was scheduled as the first witness before the senate Teapot Dome committee today, to tell whether information or rumor led him to say that the sale of the Marion Star by the late President Harding ought to be investigated.

While the committee was questioning Vanderlip, President Coolidge was expected to select another lawyer to succeed Silas H. Strawn, Chicago, whose nomination as "presidential counsel" to prosecute the oil lease cases was withdrawn late Thursday. Strawn's nomination was withdrawn after the senate Teapot Dome committee notified the president that Strawn's connection with two Chicago "Standard Oil Banks" made his confirmation impossible.

Atlee Pomerene, Ohio, the other lawyer nominated, was not withdrawn, in spite of objections to him and indications from the White House

(Continued on page 3)

## "A WEEK"

*By IURY LIBEDINSKY*

Published by THE DAILY WORKER thru arrangement with B. W. Huebsh, Inc., of New York City. Copyrighted, 1923, by B. W. Huebsch, Inc.

CHAPTER I.

IN THE spaces of mother-of-pearl, between the piles of grey motionless clouds, the joyful sky was turning a dark blue. For three days the Spring had been sunny, the streamlets had broken thru the snowdrifts and were beginning to carry them out of the town, to the river, and the streets had become noisy and dirty. But on the fourth day the Spring dozed again, laid her head on her knees and went to sleep, sitting somewhere in a distant forest glade; and only once, before noon, the sun smiled on the earth and then went off again behind the motionless clouds. But the joyfulness of Spring remained; only it was behind everything, just as the sun was behind the grey, blue and pallid lilac clouds which, for hours, hung over the earth like grey wet stones.

If you were to climb past the railings and little houses of the outskirts, slipping in the sticky mud, to the hillock which the sun had already cleared of snow, where there is a solitary weather-beaten rock, and were then to look back, you would see below you the little town lying under the hillock, stretching all the way to the river, with its blocks of grey wooden houses. There are few people to be seen; probably all asleep; dogs bark, and with the Spring the cocks are crowing loudly. On the broad streets and in the narrow lanes glimmer the remnants of the last snow. There are few big two-storied houses, but many churches. Solitary factory chimneys pour into the sky endless ribbons of black smoke, and, far beyond the town, the ash falls on the snowdrifts.

The sturdy, dust-gray watch-tower sent out, cracked and regular, one after another, five even blows into the dim silence, and, after two quiet minutes, in reply, singing sounds flew from the belfries, lingered in the air, and fell, far beyond the town in the grey mist of the villages.

At this so quiet hour, when the sun, a dull-white spot, had long passed noon, people were coming together to the Circus building on the broad square. They were walking by the low railings, on the scattered snow-tracks, across the waste spaces where last year's withered thistles stick up thru the snowdrifts, they were stepping across the street, full of the mud of Spring, and walking along the footways cut in the earth. They were hurrying, met each other, greeted each other sometimes, smiled at each other, men and women, more often young than old, in grey coats, in worn out blue and black overcoats. Different smiles, eyes, gait, manners, and yet there was something common to all of them, as if one and the same distant morning sun were lighting them all.

In the Circus it is quiet all day and the big grey rats slip noiselessly about the yellow twilit arena. But now the double doors, on which hung tatters of old bills and announcements, were opened wide; the mutilated words and sentences cut off short, spoke of something past and gone. It was lighter now in the Circus, and the people poured into their places, rising higher and higher round the arena, and filled the huge building with a suppressed noise of step and voices.

Two persons appeared at the round table standing in the middle of the arena. Single voices from all parts of the Circus threw names to them, and then, by the will of hundreds of lifted hands, Comrade Klimin, a man in a soldier's coat, whose features, but for his fine, quietly observant eyes, were indistinct in the half light of the Circus, announced from the middle of the arena:

"Comrades, I declare the meeting of the Town District of the R. C. P. (Russian Communist Party) open. On the agenda list is a report of the President of the Soviet of Public Economy on the economic situation of the district. No objections? . . . I call upon Comrade Ziman."

The Circus grew quieter and quieter, and the assembly of people, like a huge, grey, affectionate beast lay at the feet of the President, and its many-eyed stare was fixed upon that other, the one who was also standing in the middle of the arena, and with a nervous hand was crumpling scraps of paper.

Inaudibly, dully raising his voice, on figures, poods of corn, sazhins of wood, the number of locomotives, huge sums of money, numbers of days and weeks, Ziman made his report. But all listened greedily, and all understood—the talk was of house-keeping, goods, fuel, food, and question after question, conveys of little scraps of paper, flew on to the table of the Praesidium.

Ziman told how the town was far from the big main railways and connected with the rest of Russia only by a 500-verst branch line. The district was almost without forests, it had very little coal of its own, and the railway had almost ceased working. And it had been a bad harvest, the corn-collection had taken the last, and if no seed were forthcoming at sowing time, there would be famine in town and country.

Every one knew what those words meant; hunger would urge the peasantry to senseless, violent revolt, the factories would cease working, the workmen would scatter, and the robber bands who wander far off in the steppes would grow bold, approach the railway and spoil the track. To bring seed, fuel

(Continued on Page 4)

## Get Someone Else To Start Reading "A WEEK" In Today's Issue

# BRITISH WHITE GUARDS ORGANIZE AGAINST LABOR

## Out in the Open as Workers Rule Threatens

(Special to The Daily Worker)

LONDON, Feb. 15.—British aristocrats and sons of the bourgeoisie met last night at the famous Cecil Hotel, in black shirts to sound a warning against the possibility of British labor expecting to gain power by peaceful methods.

From all over the British Isles came delegates of the Fascisti to the first open function held under the auspices of the English section of the Fascisti. Mussolini's agents were there in great number, headed by the Italian ambassador. The leading Italian families were represented.

The British Fascisti admit that there is no danger of the present British Labor Party endangering capitalist rule at present but should they gain a majority, the Black Shirt brigade would go into action and establish an open dictatorship. The moth-eaten constitutional tradition of peaceful transition will be given a rude jolt by the British 100 per centers.

## *German Strikers Battle with the Police in Stettin*

STETTIN, Feb. 15.—Police fired on rioting dock strikers today, killing one and wounding seven. One policeman was wounded.

* * *

BERLIN, Feb. 15.—The national state of emergency in Germany, proclaimed when the nationalist movement in Bavaria threatened dissolution of the confederation, will be abolished March 1.

General von Seeckt, commander of the Reichswehr, and nominal dictator, wrote to President Ebert suggesting the state of emergency be rescinded.

President Ebert thanked the commander, and added: "I agree to the abolition of the state of emergency beginning March 1."

Work Daily for "The Daily!"


RAIC

RAIC-OGNIZE RUSSIA

RAIC-ognition of THE UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS by American Workers Thru the R. A. I. C.

Workers' Russia Needs INDUSTRIAL CREDIT given by Friends of Russia R. A. I. C. meets this Need.

Every Worker Can Help— $10.00 makes you a Shareholder

Subscriptions may be paid in $1.00 (one dollar) instalments

First Dividend Paid to 5,000 Americans

Write for Illustrated Booklet, or send your subscription immediately to SIDNEY HILLMAN, Pres.

RUSSIAN-AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION 103 E. 14TH STREET NEW-YORK


# *Ladies' Garment Workers Get Ready for Big Strike*

(Continued from page 1.)

to discuss some improvement in conditions and a slight change in wages which would better even a little the miserable earnings now being paid the girls who turn out the expensive dresses for the "better classes."

Demands had been made for discussion upon an increase from the scale which now leaves many girls dependent on their own earnings, or even with loved ones to support, only $16, $18 or $20 a week on which to eke out an existence. The association scorned the plea that workng girls needed more than the minimum necessary to avoid starvation which is euphemistically called "a living wage," and one fat-necked boss whose appetite for the higher things of life never ranges above "Getting Gertie's Garter," indignantly protested the suggestion that working girls might like to attend the opera. "Why, I never go to the opery," he had grunted.

**New Bosses' Associations.**

Negotiations being broken with the association, warnings had been sent to the individual members of it that the union may be forced to strike. These individual bosses had in two cases broken from the old association and informed the union that they were organizing a new association of the manufacturers in the trade on the Northwest Side, and that another association was in process of forming. The letter of warning as to impending strike which was sent to the non-union shops had gone unanswered.

The possibility of the union reaching an agreement with the newly organized and reorganized association members complicated conditions so that it is yet impossible to say whether or not the strike will be forced upon the union, but as every agreement expires on Monday, Vice-President Pertstein demanded that a strike committee be elected at once, and he specified that such committee would alone decide the date of the strike.

**"Take Back Expelled Before Strike" Plea From Floor.**

At this point the destructive effects of Perlstein's expulsion of the most active and devoted members of the union for connection with the Trade Union Educational League became manifest. Member after member took the floor in passionate plea that the expelled members be taken back into full union membership before a battle against the bosses be engaged.

"How can the International officers expect the union to win in a fight with the bosses when these officers have destroyed the fighting spirit of our union by expelling its most active members? What are we going to do without Dora Lipshitz, who in strike after strike has given every ounce of energy and every minute of time to leadership in the strike—and who now is expelled and is not even allowed in this hall? Can we who know how much the union has been weakened by expulsion of our best members undertake responsibility of accepting on the strike committee? And can we accept knowing that after the strike is over, maybe we, too, shall be expelled, like Dora Lipshitz was?" Such were the questions put by the first girl who got the floor, and she continued with the demand that before strike action was taken that the expelled members be re-instated. This brought the first exhibition of real enthusiasm shown at the meeting; members rose to their feet and strained their ears to hear the protest, and applauded it wildly at the close.

**Unanimous For Re-instatement.**

"Unity in our own ranks," "reinstatement of the expelled members before the strike," were demands of member after member demanding the floor—not one dissenting voice to this came from the floor, until the chair-lady cut off discussion, but not before a girl who delivered the best speech of the evening had cast a note of serious warning. She had been on the committee from the local, which had visited President Sigman with the request that the expelled members be reinstated. Sigman had refused to consider the request, unless the expelled members surrendered what, to the speaker, was the right of free thinking, the right to belong or have connection with the Trade Union Educational League.

**"Unity Before the Battle"—Membership.**

This girl asserted that she was in violent disagreement with Sigman and looked with dismay on the prospect of the union going into the strike with the feeling of demoralization among the members which was shown by every rank and file member which took the floor. She had been, also, on the committee of members which had met the insulting spokesmen of the association of employers and had felt outraged at the scorn with which they treated the vital needs of the workers in the shops, who create fortunes for them. Nevertheless, in spite of the resentment this engendered, she realized that a strike was a serious matter, that the livelihood of thousands directly and of others thousands indirectly was in the balance, that a strike was no plaything and embraced issues too grave to be made a gamble of; therefore, she felt that if the membership lacked the spirit and leadership of the expelled members as much as their speeches showed, the union was in no condition to strike in her opinion and should recognize realities, continue the present agreement, unsatisfactory and humiliating as it is, until the expelled members are taken back and the union re-inspirited.

**"Unity After the Battle"—Perlstein.**

Perlstein replied weakly, that the matter of the expelled members was "in the hands of the International"—somewhat like "in the hands of God," as tho he had no control over it and could not get them re-instated at once if he really valued the interests of the union above his vanity and pride. His egoism would, it is evident, be hurt if he had to take back the members he expelled and thus admit his mistake. So he added that, "We must stand together now against the enemy. After we are thru fighting him, after the strike, some other time, we can settle our family quarrels so we can stand together against the enemy." He never seemed to notice that this circular argument was broken by the gap of absence left by the expelled members.

Tho many members were on the floor, Perlstein and the chair-lady cut them off and made the election of the strike committee the next order of business.

John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor delivered an unusally bad speech, his one good point being that the bosses, by use of all their injunctions, detectives and sluggers, had gained nothing over the union. This was remarked by a member present to be true, that the most vicious tactics of the bosses only strengthened the union, and only the disruptive tactics of Perlstein could have brought the union to its present condition of timidity and helplessness.

**Expelled Members to Help Strikers**

When asked her opinion as to the possibility of strike, Dora Lipshitz said to the DAILY WORKER: "The expelled members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers are first and last union men and women. The interests of the membership is ours and, if a strike is declared, the expelled members will give every effort physically possible to make a victory for the Dressmakers a possibility. However, the possibility of victory is clearly made uncertain when the union is weakened and discouraged by Perlstein's expulsions of its most active members."


The Radical Inn

The place where you can enjoy an interesting discussion while having a special Mrs. Smith's own cooked meal or drinking a Russian Tcheinick (pot) of tea with Mrs. Smith's own home made cake.

Arrangements for services for parties, organizations and private gatherings made at any time.

Mrs. Smith's Tea Room

1431 S. SAWYER AVENUE

Phone Rockwell 0202.


# *Negro Workers Speak Despite Sanhedrin Head*

(Continued from page 1)

reported in the next issue of The DAILY WORKER.

**Labor Seizes Convention.**

The indignation which the delegates have been feeling against the machine control of the convention showed in the tumult of applause that came when Labor took the floor in spite of Dean Miller yesterday noon.

The chairman was announcing that those interested in labor could talk in a small side room while the convention continued in session in the main auditorium on other subjects.

He didn't get away with it. Otto Housewoud, a union printer from New York and representative of the African Blood Brotherhood, called out:

**Labor Sabotaged.**

"Dean Miller, you have been sabotaging this convention from the first day. You promised labor a hearing before the convention because it was the most important issue. We demand a hearing. Ninety-five per cent of the members of our Race are workingmen."

There was a burst of handclapping and an elderly clergyman cried out: "Ninety-five per cent—better say ninetyeight."

Miller gaveled and said Housewoud was out of order but members of the audience whose labor sympathies had not been known before began popping up demanding the right of Labor to be heard.

**Labor Defeats Chairman.**

The chairman's opposition was in vain. Speaker after speaker began taking the floor and the audience applauded every attack on the chairman's policy of barring the labor issue.

Miller gave in and turned the meeting over to a labor discussion—first taking pains to have T. Arnold Hill, of the Urban League, a conservative he had appointed to the labor committee, in the chair.

Lovett Fort-Whiteman showed the vital need of unionism among the Negroes:

Negro girls are being accepted in the garment industries in place of white girls, he said, not because they employer is favoring the race, but because they are unorganized and can be exploited more.


JAY LOVESTONE

Author of "The Government—Strikebreaker" and "What's What About Coolidge"

will speak on

"WHO OWNS CONGRESS?"

SUNDAY, FEB. 17, 8 P. M.

Workers Party

OPEN FORUM

Capitol Bldg., 159 N. State Street (Corinthian Hall—17th floor.)



FOR SALE

GUITAR (New)

A Bargain.

G. SIMANSKY,

3402 WEST 16TH SREET

Call Sunday



Improve Your Property

Damaged Buildings Restored

LOANS TO IMPROVE

New Floors, Fronts, Shelving

Mid-City Carpenter Shop

508 S. Irving Ave. Seeley 1883



CLOTHING, SHOES, ETC.

FURNISHINGS

LADIES' MEN'S INFANTS'

Trade Where Your Money Buys the Most.

MARTIN'S

723 West North Avenue

East of Halsted St.



Phone Diversey 8384 All Work Guaranteed

JOHN CSANDA

CUSTOM TAILOR

CLEANING, PRESSING & ALTERATION

1537 LARRABEE STREET

Near North Avenue



Telephone Diversey 5129

ED. GARBER

QUALITY SHOES

For Men, Women and Children

2427 LINCOLN AVENUE

Near Halsted and Fullerton Ave.

CHICAGO



Phone Armitage 8529

CHRIST BORNER

UNION BARBER SHOP

1631 N. CALIFORNIA AVE.



Phone Spaulding 4870

ASHER B. PORTNOY & CO.

Painters and Decorators

PAINTERS' SUPPLIES

Estimates on New and Old Work

2619 MILWAUKEE AVE., CHICAGO


# *Chicago Firemen Expect City Council Will Grant Raise*

George L. Frank, president of the Firemen's Association of Chicago, said yesterday that the prospects of the firemen of Chicago getting a raise of $500 a year from the city are bright. If any compromise of less is offered they will continue to fight for the original demand of $500, he said.

The firemen presented to the city council at their last meeting a petition containing 450,000 names asking for a raise at once.

At the present time firemen are working for wages ranging from $1,640 a year to $2,000 a year. They work for 24 hours and are off duty but subject to call for 24 hours. The raise of $500 a year will apply to all firemen from class D men to captains.

# *Cleveland Window Cleaners Strike for More Wages*

CLEVELAND, Feb. 15.—Window cleaners of Local Union 110 went on strike here yesterday. The Cleveland Federation of Labor is backing them up due to the company's refusal to recognize our local and sign a new agreement which calls for a closed shop, a 44-hour week and $1 an hour for experienced window cleaners.

**How many of your shop-mates read THE DAILY WORKER. Get one of them to subscribe today.**


SUBSCRIBE!

SOVIET RUSSIA PICTORIAL

March Issue Includes

FULL PAGE SOUVENIR PICTURE OF NICOLAI LENIN

LARGER IN SIZE——GREATER IN INTEREST

A Graphic Monthly Review of Events in RUSSIA and GERMANY

$2.00 A YEAR $1.00 SIX MONTHS

SOVIET RUSSIA PICTORIAL
32 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed find $..... for .... months .... years subscription.

Name . . . .

Street No. . . . .

City . . . . State. . . . .



Good Clothes for Men & Boys

Shoes—Furnishings—Hats

Open Thursday and Saturday Evenings

Lincoln CLOTHING CO.

LINCOLN AVE. AND WRIGHTWOOD AVE.

LINCOLN AVE. AND IRVING PARK BLVD.



COHEN & HORVITZ

HARRIS COHEN
2645 Potomac Ave.
Office: ROOSEVELT ROAD

Well-Known Insurance Salesmen

S. M. HORVITZ
1253 N. Hoyne Ave.
Phone Roosevelt 2500



JUST PUBLISHED

How Do You Know?

A Handbook of Evidence and Inference

By ELLEN HAYES

This book will be welcomed by the worker who wishes he had more education.

228 pp. and index. $2.00 postpaid. Order from Prof. E. Hayes, Wellesley, Mass.



Let us tell you how to make your money work for you. No Speculation, Gamble or Chance of Loss. Small monthly payments. Exempt from National, State or Local Taxation. Thousands have already made money on the proposition we are now offering you. Only a limited amount still available. Write to BOX A. A. THE DAILY WORKER.



SLIP COVERS

Including Labor and Material

Davenport - - $9.50

Chair - - - - $5.50

Satisfaction Absolutely Guaranteed

Also a wonderful selection of imported Coverings at a tremedous reduction due to our wide experience in the making of Covers, enabling us to give you superior quality.

Save 30% on your Automobile covers. Order direct from—

GOLLIN BROS.

Formerly With Mandel Bros.

UPHOLSTERING

done in your own home very reasonable.

6006 SO. KOMENSKY AVE.

Call REPUBLIC 3788


Protect the Foreign Born!


Dress Up-to-Date

with a

J. KAPLAN MADE-TO-ORDER SUIT OR OVERCOAT

$40.00 and Up

He will do your cleaning and repairing at moderate prices.

J. KAPLAN

Expert Ladies' and Gents' Tailors

3546 ARMITAGE AVE.

Phone Albany 9400

Work Called for and Delivered


Work Daily for "The Daily!"


PHYSICIANS, SURGEONS, AND DENTISTS

A Show of Gold

In the Mouth Is Unsightly

Your teeth can be filled so that no one can tell that they contain fillings, except by careful examination.

NU WAY DENTISTRY

DOES IT,

as many readers of this paper can tell you.

Come for an estimate. If satisfied, make a deposit and start your work when you see fit.

Open evenings until 9 except Wednesdays and Saturday.

DR. THOS. H. KELLEY

2758 North Ave., corner California

Tel. Humboldt 6214



DR. A. J. CHYZ

Chiropractic - Osteopathy

Physiological Adjustments

1009 NORTH STATE ST.

CHICAGO

Office Hours: 9 a. m. to 12 N., 1 P. M. to 6 P. M., 7 P. M. to 9 P. M.



MATHIEU'S

COUGH SYRUP

IS THE BEST MADE

Stops Coughs, Colds and Bronchitis For Man, Woman or Child

50c a Bottle. By Mail, 60c.

Sold by J. B. LENAU,

832 BLUE ISLAND AVENUE

Tel. Monroe 4751



GAS X-RAY

Dr. ZIMMERMAN

DENTIST

Extraction Specialist

2000 N. California Avenue

Phone Armitage 7466



Telephone Brunswick 5991

DR. A. FABRICANT

DENTIST

2058 W. DIVISION STREET

Cor. Hoyne Ave. CHICAGO, ILL.



PITTSBURGH, PA.

DR. RASNICK

DENTIST

Rendering Expert Dental Service for 20 Year

645 SMITHFIELD ST., Near 7th Ave.

1627 CENTER AVE., Cor. Arthur St.



DR. ISREAL FELDSHER

Physician and Surgeon

3803 ROOSEVELT RD. Crawford 2885

Hours: Morning, until 10 a. m.

Afternoons, 1 to 3 and 7 to 9 p. m.



BOOKSELLERS, NEWSDEALERS, STATIONERS, CIGARS AND TOBACCOS

People are judged by the books they read. All the best books, old and new, can be obtained from

Morris Bernstein's Book Shop, 3733 West Roosevelt Road.

Phone Rockwell 1453.

Stationery, Music and all Periodicals. Come and get a Debs calendar free.



WORKERS, ATTENTION!

We carry Union made Cigars and Tobacco, Pipes, Toys, Magazines, Confectionery and Stationery.

Buy Your Herald and Daily Worker Here.

CHAS. RASMUSSEN

2621 W. NORTH AVENUE

Phone Armitage 0366.



When in the FEDERATION BUILDING patronize the CIGAR STAND in the lobby.

We handle Union Made brands.

Federation Cigar Stand

166 W. Washington St.



CARL WIRTHMAN

1787 CLYBOURN AVE.

Manufacturer of

High Grade Union Made Cigars

Wholesale and Retail Box trade a specialty



Any Book Mailed Free

Anywhere on Receipt of Price.

Ask Us—We Know Books.

Jack London's Novels, 69c, postpaid

BRADY'S BOOK SHOP Phone Well. 1281

3145 Broadway, Chicago, Ill.



Special Reduction on Books at

LEVINSON'S BOOK STORE

3308 W. Roosevelt Road, Chicago



DOES YOUR NEIGHBOR KNOW ABOUT

THE DAILY WORKER?

When You Are Thru with Your Copy Let Him Read It

Then Get Him to Subscribe.

You'll Be Surprised How Easy It Will Be.

"Every DAILY Reader a Subscriber" — "Every Subscriber a Booster"

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

BY MAIL—
1 year .....$6.00
6 months....$3.50
3 months....$2.00

IN CHICAGO
BY MAIL—
1 year .....$8.00
6 months....$4.50
3 months....$2.50

BY CARRIER—
1 year .....$10.00
1 month ....$1.00

THE DAILY WORKER,
1640 N. HALSTED ST.,
Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed please find $..... for.....months' subscription to THE DAILY WORKER.

NAME: .....

STREET:..... FLAT:.....

CITY:..... STATE:.....

# $1,000,000 Slush Fund Aids Losers

(Continued from Page 1)

were that Mr. Coolidge considered the fight on Pomerene merely political and would insist upon his confirmation.

**New Investigations**

The senate committee was preparing to pursue several lines of inquiry. Testimony of John C. Shaffer, Denver, and Chicago newspaper owner yesterday, indicating that Fall began negotiations with Harry F. Sinclair for leasing Teapot Dome soon after Fall took office in 1921, will be followed up, because at the time the naval reserves were not even in Fall's jurisdiction and the committee wants to know whether he had some understanding when he entered the cabinet that the reserves would be transferred from the navy to the interior department. Such evidence would clinch the evidence of fraud and corruption in making the leases and would make certain their annulment by the courts, committee members believe.

Investigation of the $1,000,000 "slush fund" reported loaned to government officials by oil men went ahead quietly as E. B. McLean, Washington publisher, sped to Washington to be the first witness concerning the funds.

Senator Wheeler, Montana, author of a resolution for investigation of Attorney-General Daugherty, decided today to let his measure lie on the table for a few days so as not to conflict with the Teapot Dome inquiry proper.

**Cross Examine Vanderlip,**

Frank A. Vanderlip, New York financier, who dragged the late President Harding's name into the oil inquiry by saying the sale of the Marion Star, the President's newspaper, ought to be investigated, faced the senate Teapot Dome committee today.

Examination of Vanderlip was begun by Senator Lenroot, who at once asked about Vanderlip's speech, near Ossining on Lincoln's birthday.

"On the evening of February 12 did you make a speech at Ossining?"

"No, at Briar Cliff, near Ossining. The subject was 'Courage in Leadership'."

"You are credited in the newspapers as having said at that time that there was something wrong with the sale of the Marion Star by the late President Harding?"

"What I said, was that there are rumors in Washington and current thruout the United States and among the rumors this story. That is substantially what I said the rumor was. I said the rumor rose far above gossip.

**Rumor From Responsible People.**

"It was something like the whispering campaign that was heard in the month before Mr. Harding's election. I believed out of respect for memory of Mr. Harding that these scandalous rumors should be downed."

"What information did you have?" Lenroot asked.

"Only of having heard this story from responsible people."

"And you thought it your duty to give it publicity?"

"I thought it my particular duty."

Senator Walsh called attention as the hearing started to a newspaper story which stated the subpoena for Vanderlip was issued at request of democrats."

"I desire to say that if any democrats conferred about the matter I did not know of it and I do not believe it," Walsh said.

Walsh then told of how the subpoena was issued. He said he met Senator Lenroot privately and they agreed Vanderlip should be subpoenaed.

**No Legal Evidence.**

Lenroot then made a statement concurring.

"I regret that so inaccurate a statement should be made in this connection," Walsh said.

Continuing his statement Vanderlip said:

"As the rumor was known in every newspaper office it seemed to me about time for it to be brought to the surface and the scandal stopped."

"Did you say that in your speech?" asked Lenroot.

"I did."

"Then you cannot give this committee any information?"

"I have no legal information. I have heard some reports about the price of the transaction. What was bought, as I understand it, was only a part interest. I do not even know of my own knowledge the exact price paid.

"The current story was $550,000. I've heard it was $600 a share. I don't know how many shares were involved.

"I have heard that a payment of $10,000 a year was to be made for a contributing editor but that it was to go to Mrs. Harding in the event of Mr. Harding's death.

"I had sufficient facts to base the statement that I made—that is, that these rumors had come to me. That is all I said—and that it should be traced."

"Why didn't you communicate with the committee?"

"I have no connection with the committee. I didn't know there was any connection between public lands and the sale of an Ohio newspaper."

**Thought It Duty.**

"You thought that these rumors were broadcast thruout the country and they ought to be stopped?" asked Lenroot.

"I did."

"Do you think it is the duty of a man of public standing in a public speech to assist in circulating rumors of that kind?"

"That wasn't the purpose in any way. The purpose was to bring these rumors to public attention that they might be killed."

"What do you mean by responsible quarters? Do you mean they knew what they were talking about?"

"No, I never heard anyone say they professed to know the facts—merely that they have heard rumors."

**Clear Harding's Name.**

"And your only purpose was to clear Mr. Harding's name?"

"It certainly was."

"What did you mean by your statement about the committee being afraid to question former Secretary of the Interior Fall?"

"I gave that from my personal inference. It wasn't altogether personal, for I had heard it stated."

"Did you know that his counsel advised him that he couldn't be compelled to testify?"

"No."

"Where did you get any information about this?"

"Oh, well, I can't say where I got it. I am familiar with the powers of senate committees and I didn't believe that the committee could be stopped from questioning a witness."

**Vanderlip Kids Solons.**

"You now think you are performing a public duty in making a statement of that kind without one basis of fact whatever?"

"Well, that is your opinion," said Vanderlip, not answering the question.

"You charged this committee with neglect in a public speech without taking the trouble to ascertain the facts?"

"If you tell me you had legal reason to take the course you did, I'll say your action was warranted. But I still think you could have passed legislation in the senate compelling Fall to testify without immunity," Vanderlip insisted.

"Do you think we can pass laws violating the constitution?"

"I don't know—you do sometimes."

## SAYS SECRETARY OF TREASURY IS MORE GUILTY THEN DOHENY

(Special to The Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, Feb. 16.—**Senator Reed of Missouri, in a Senate speech, discussing the wholesale corruption of the federal government since the beginning of the war, said of Secretary Mellon:**

**"I submit that Andrew Mellon holds his office of secretary of the easury in violation of the law vhich prohibits men engaged in trade from holding that high position. At the time he assumed his seat he was a director in 68 great banks and industrial corporations, and was the chief owner of one of the greatest trusts on earth. He, too, is heavily interested in oil. There is scarcely anything the earth produces or man creates that does not pay its tribute to this secretary. He writes the tax laws and he sought in that last congress to reduce the income taxes of 12,000 millionaires by the sum of $90,000,000. The saving to himself and his associates would have run into the millions, but this does not seem to shock the public conscience.**

**"What is the difference between Mellon's attitude and that of Doheny. If Mellon can write the tax laws, why should not Doheny write the oil laws? Poor Doheny had to act indirectly thru a cabinet officer. Mellon acts directly and is paid for acting as a cabinet officer."**

**Fire Takes 11 Lives.**

MONTPELIER, Vt., Feb. 15—Eleven persons are believed to have lost their lives in a fire here today. Early reports said the damage would reach $200,000.

## Here and There

**WEATHER FORECAST.**
**(For Saturday, February 16.)**

For Chicago generally uncertain. Fair and bright sunshine around Ashland Auditorium.

* * *

**THE FOUR-BIT MYSTERY.**
**Chapter 1.**

Join the joyous movement (Continued).

* * *

In a speech at a meeting of the Daughters of 1812, the Rev. Dr. Grant said: "True they say that Mr. Lincoln swore, but who didn't in those days, especially if he was connected with politics or the army."

And who wouldn't today—if he was connected or not!

* * *

**Chapter 2.**
**At the Red Revel on (Cont.).**

* * *

**CURRENT FICTION.**
**(The Week's Best Smeller.)**

"The industrial struggle which came, lasting up to the days of the world war, for increased compensation to wage earners, for the bettering of their condition, while it has never been fully settled, does not appear at present to be acute. The rewards of labor engaged in commerce, transportation and industry are now such as to afford the most liberal participation in all the essentials of life."—President Coolidge.

* * *

**Chapter 3.**
Saturday, February 16 (Cont.).

* * *

Pres. Coolidge made another speech. Ho-Hum!—Now what's next?

**But These Investigations Must Stop Some Place!**

The Chicago Tribune reports charges that Forbes sold pajamas badly needed by the veterans.

Bare the facts. Let the public see what's in the army!

BRICK LAYER.

**Chapter 4.**
At the Ashland Auditorium (Cont.).

**Chapter 5.**
You'll help the Labor movement (Cont.).

**Chapter 6—The End. (Thank God!).**
And you'll have a helluva fine time!

WALT CARMON.

## *Promise Probe of the High Price of Bread in U. S. A.*

(Special to The Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 15.—Federal investigation of charges that a "bread trust" is robbing American consumers of nearly $500,000,000 annually is promised here today.

**Minor to Speak In Milwaukee and Waukegan.**

With the great Teapot Dome scandal stirring the country, the lecture to be given by Robert Minor Sunday, Feb. 17, both at Waukegan, Ill., and Milwaukee, Wis., on the subject of "Who Owns Congress?" should attract particular interest. In Milwaukee the lectures will be given at Miller Hall, State and Eighth Sts., at 8 p. m.; in Waukegan at Workers Hall, 517 Helmholtz Ave., at 2:30 p. m.

**Irish Meeting Sunday Night.**

Sam Hammersmark, advertising manager of THE DAILY WORKER will be the main speaker at an Irish meeting Sunday night in Emmet Memorial Hall at 8 p. m. His subject will be "The Effect of the British Labor Party Government on the Irish Republican Movement".


MULLER'S RESTAURANT
A good place to eat.
1010 RUSH STREET
Tel. Superior 7079
Downstairs of National Office.

Res. Phone Crawford 0331 Violin
Office Phone Rockwell 0112 Teacher
HENRY MOSS
ORIENTAL JAZZ BAND
Music Furnished for All Occasions
Members American Fed. of Musicians
1215 S. LAWNDALE AVENUE
Chicago, Ill.

Res. 1632 S. Trumbull Ave,
Phone Rockwell 5050
MORDECAI SHULMAN
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
701 Association Bldg.,
19 S. La Salle Street CHICAGO
Dearborn 8657—Central 4945-4947

BERTRAM H. MONTGOMERY
Attorney and Counsellor
10 South La Salle Street, Room 601
Chicago
Telephone Franklin 4849
Residence Phone Oak Park 8853

FOR
ELECTRIC WORK
CALL HARRISON 2193
HARRY O. STILLWELL
548 So. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

MARYLAND RESTAURANT
1011-1013 North State Street
OPEN DAY AND NIGHT
HIGH QUALITY FOOD GOOD SERVICE
Telephone: Superior 9441

BIALKO'S International Orchestra
The Music for Austrian-Hungarian-Slovenian-Croatian-Russian and Bohemian Peoples
Albert J. Bialko, 1020 S. Ashland Blvd. | CHICAGO, ILL. Phone Seeley 9022. | Paul Pavella, 723 W. 19th Place

This Coupon Pays A Premium
Copies of 'A Week' Free!

NOTICE

*Beginning Feb. 14, the Labor Defense Council will give away a copy of Iury Libedinsky's vivid novel of revolutionary Russia for every sheet of Ruthenberg Appeal Coupons.*

WE MUST NOT LET RUTHENBERG AND FOSTER GO TO JAIL FOR LACK OF SUPPORT

*By selling Ruthenberg Appeal Coupons you will do your bit for the Michigan Defense and at the same time build up your library.*

THE DEFENSE NEEDS $15,000 BY MARCH 1ST!

*Buy and Sell Ruthenberg Appeal Coupons!*

GET BEHIND THE RUTHENBERG APPEAL!

Coupons Sell for 10c, 25c, 50c and $1. A Full Sheet Sells for $6.

SEND ALL MONEY TO

LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL
166 West Washington St.
CHICAGO, ILL.

RESTAURANTS

COZY LUNCH
George E. Pashas
We Bake Our Own Pies
2426 Lincoln Avenue
One-half block from Imperial Hall
CHICAGO

RESTAURANT
Den Norske Kafe
2741-45 West North Avenue
Entire 2nd Floor
Good cooking served in a homey atmosphere.
Math Pedersen Orchestra
Sunday Evenings
SPECIAL BANQUET ROOM
Phone Armitage 4706
Open—11 A. M. to 12 P. M.

Meet us at the
Prudential Restaurant
752 NORTH AVE.
The only place to eat.

For Discriminating People
SUPERIOR LUNCH
Expert Cooking
753 W. NORTH AVENUE
CHICAGO

GERMANY'S WORKERS CALL
Amalgamated Trust and Savings Bank
371 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD — CHICAGO, ILL.
No. 3943 Date January 29th, 1924
Foreign Money Order to Willi Muensenberg, General Secretary
Residing at Internationale Arbeiterhilfe, Unter den Linden
Berlin W 8, Germany
From Friends of Soviet Russia
Foreign Amount $500.00 Five Hundred Dollars no cents
Amount Received in Dollars $500.00 Payable in United States Dollars
Amalgamated Trust & Savings Bank
By

BREAD! BREAD! GIVE US BREAD!

*And the powers-that-be Answer*

With Machine Guns
With Diplomatic Notes
With Huge Loans
With Military Occupation

WITH RELIEF BASED ON CONDITIONS that the German workers agree to accept the form of government chosen for them by the bankers who are willing to make the loans.

WITH RELIEF BASED ON POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION which will assure the distribution of funds to those trade unions which agree "to help fight Bolshevism" in Germany.

Soviet Russia Sends Grain

*AMERICAN WORKERS AND FARMERS*

Answer quick! What is in YOUR heart today?

How much is your feeling of
INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY
with Germany's workers worth?

Based on

Famine Relief WITHOUT Conditions-WITHOUT Political Discrimination

$500 initial outlay and $2000 monthly will open and maintain an American Soup Kitchen in Germany.

WE CABLED

$500 on January 29th and $2000 on February 2nd.

HOW MUCH WILL YOU GIVE TOWARD THE $2000 FOR MARCH?

Friends of Soviet Russia and Workers' Germany.
32 So. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

Enclosed find $..... as my contribution to the support of the American Soup Kitchen. I pledge to send $..... monthly for this purpose as a concrete expression of my feeling of solidarity with Germany's starving workers and their families.

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
Trade or Profession..... D. W.

*Committee for International Workers' Aid*

ASHLAND AUDITORIUM
So Radically Different!
The Red Revel
Saturday Eve. February 16th
HUSK O'HARE'S TEN WOODEN SOLDIERS

# THE DAILY WORKER

Published by the DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO., 1640 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. (Phone: Lincoln 7680.)

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

By mail:

$6.00 per year $3.50..6 months $2.00..3 months

By mail (in Chicago only):

$8.00 per year $4.50..6 months $2.50..3 months

Address all mail and make out checks to THE DAILY WORKER 1640 N. Halsted Street Chicago, Illinois

J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.....Editor
WILLIAM F. DUNNE.....Labor Editor
MORITZ J. LOEB.....Business Manager

Entered as second-class mail Sept. 21, 1923 at the Post-Office at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879.

304 Advertising rates on application.


## MacDonald's Government

Premier MacDonald's opening speech, followed by that of Clynes, in which the house of commons was told that the Labor Party government had abandoned the capital levy, that it would not attempt it "without national approval," has been accorded a much more favorable reception from the capitalist press and the opposition in the house than from the labor members and the rank and file of the Labor Party.

According to London dispatches, there is much disappointment in labor ranks and most of the applause following the outline of the government's policy came from the conservatives.

The labor men sat "glum and silent" says one correspondent.

The mass of the British workers have builded high hopes on the accession of the Labor Party to power. It is going to manifest more and more impatience as the MacDonald government increases, as it will, its efforts to conciliate the middle classes and to convince the tories that their privileges and surpluses are in no serious danger.

The money for the housing campaign, for construction projects of other kinds to relieve unemployment, cannot come from the impoverished workers.

Two million unemployed brought the Labor Party to power and it must solve this problem.

The kind words of the spokesmen of the British capitalists mean nothing. There will be sabotage aplenty when loans are needed to carry out the government program.

Only a capital levy will bring the needed funds, but to institute it and make it effective the Labor Party government will have to have more iron in its blood than it has yet shown.

No government can be fair to both classes in society and in its attempt to enact this role the MacDonald government will either fall or continue as did the social democracy of Germany—as the smoke screen of the big industrialists and financiers.

Boldness and resolution will rally the British workers to the Labor Party movement. A kindly regard for the feelings of the opposition will alienate the best elements of the British working class and leave MacDonald and his cabinet at the mercy of the cleverest ruling class the world has ever seen.

We wish the British Labor Party government well. It is the only bright spot in the darkness of western Europe. But we hope that British labor can and will learn the lessons of world history since 1917.

## The Minnesota Daily Star

**"Martial Law to Control Anti-Klan Mobs in Herrin District."**

**"Bayonet Rule to Keep Mine Mobs in Hand."**

The above headlines, conveying very definitely the impression that it was the Klan that was persecuted in Herrin and that the miners were the creators of the disturbances, are from the Minnesota Daily Star—an alleged farmer-labor paper published in Minneapolis. Its farmer-labor character is due solely to the fact that thousands of farmers and workers gave up their hard-earned dollars to launch this sheet if the above treatment of news of lawless terrorism by anti-labor forces is a guide to the policy of the paper.

Starting with a policy of "fairness" and with one eye always on the advertising receipts, the Minnesota Daily Star is now merely a personal organ of yellow politicians who live in daily fear of the formation of a genuine Farmer-Labor party that will end their juggling with the fortunes of the men and women of labor who furnished the money for their publishing venture.

The policy of the Minnesota Daily Star today is less progressive than that of the Scripps and Hearst papers. It is purely a revenue-gathering proposition and not even successful in that as the fact that it has just gone into the hands of a receiver shows.

Its mental bankruptcy and intellectual dishonesty has evidently been of such a flagrant character that increased advertising revenue has not made up for the withdrawal of a support by its disillusioned farmer and labor readers.

The Star today is neither fish, flesh, fowl or good red herring in spite of the great numbers of the latter it has tried to drag across the trail left by the capitalist class in their mad rush for loot.

Its treatment of the outrages on the miners at Herrin is what passes for clever journalism with the management of a sheet that has lost all militant virtue and now is trying to crawl into bed with the hangers-on of American capitalism.

## American Subtlety

After revealing in detail the corruption of the French press by the czar's gold, Lewis Gannett, in The Nation for February 6th, remarks:

**American journalists are hardly subject to such crass corruption as these documents reveal in the French press.**

We hope that Comrade Gannett will not be offended when we ask how he gets that way.

Crass means gross, or stupid and unrefined, according to our dictionary. Perhaps the article was written before the extremely frank Mr. Bonfils of the Denver Post testified before the Senate Teapot Oil committee in great detail as to the black-jack methods employed by himself and henchmen to extract from Harry F. Sinclair juicy sums of the currency of the realm.

There is also the incident of the Albuquerque journal purchased to ensure its silence and it is here that we come upon the chief difference between the corruption of the French and American press. The French sheets were paid to boost long and loud the advantages of the Russian loan. American newspapers are paid generally for silence and lots of it.

Comrade Gannett's ideas of what constitutes crassness and ours differ slightly in relation to another field of American journalistic enterprise. Page advertisements of huge department stores employing thousands of underpaid girls, coupled with the fact that no adverse publicity affecting these concerns ever creeps into the news or editorial columns of the capitalist press as long as the advertisements are forthcoming, is a fairly obvious if not an actually crass method of the silent treatment for revenue purposes.

It might also be remarked in this connection that there is a great scarcity of unfavorable comment concerning the Standard Oil Company in the news of the Teapot Dome investigation nor has any capitalist editor seen fit to point out that the present scandals is only the culmination of years of governmental corruption fostered by the Standard Oil interests.

Full page advertisements of Socony gasoline, pyralin toilet articles, mineral oil laxatives and the thousand and one products of Standard Oil concerns carried by the metropolitan press may be a more gentlemanly means of ensuring silence on unfavorable developments, but certainly they are just as effective as other methods of subsidizing the press and just as easily detected.

In one respect the finance-capitalists of America have the advantage—they own outright many of the papers from which the American people get their information on public questions.

## God Bless the Teapot

What is one man's loss is often another's gain. The shocking revelations in the Teapot Dome oil inquiry have hit hard many of the most prominent leaders of the democratic and republican parties.

This blow that has been struck at the so-called representative character of the government of this country should not blind the workers to the fact that while the Teapot scandal is being investigated and while McAdoo, Fall, Denby and others are being held up to the scorn of the public eye, there are many other cases of graft and corruption known to the Senate and the President, but not being investigated.

There is no use denying that many a capitalist politician and industrial magnate is now blessing the Teapot because they feel that the longer this investigation lasts and the more the Wyoming steal continues in the limelight, the less chance there is of their being investigated for lesser and greater crimes and the less likelihood will there be of their being caught.

The instances of capitalist spoilation of the country's wealth are legion. Just now the Senate itself is confronted with about a dozen cases of corruption involving some of the most responsible men of the government. Political expediency coupled with the lack of time have alone delayed the exposure of another oil scandal in California, the handing over of concessions by General Wood to some of his capitalist friends in the Philippines, the crimes perpetrated in the Veterans Bureau and Engraving Bureau, the wholesale robbery involved in the war frauds, the new million dollar bond duplication theft, the Bok peace prize, the Mellon scheme propaganda campaign and Mellon's protection of millionaire tax dodgers.

The Teapot affair and the above enumerated outrages committed against the working and farming masses of this country in the interest of the capitalist class, are only symptoms of the whole diseased condition of economic and political system. In all these steals, the good and the bad, the liberal and the reactionary, the democrat and the republican alike, have been drawn in. Party lines, personal character lines have vanished for the onslaughts of class lines—the principle of making the biggest profits possible and serving the class that rule society today thru its owners and control of the mean of production and exchange and the governmental apparatus.

Some time ago "Labor," the official organ of the sixteen standard railway unions, carried a four column cartoon depicting William G. McAdoo in the act of hanging a picture of a railway worker in the gallery of war heroes.

Latest reports from the editorial rooms of "Labor" are to the effect that oily finger-prints have been discovered on the frame of the picture.

# Start Reading "A Week"--Here's First Installment

(Continued from Page 1)

would be necessary. Fuel was prepared in the district of Zizhni-Elansk, in the hill, 200 versts away by railway and could not be brought in a week. The collapse of the sowing campaign was almost inevitable. And the speaker called for stoicism, but his words were dry, did not sink into the meeting, and hung unwanted and homeless like little bits of paper in the wind.

Ziman ended, and a Red Army soldier with a browless, broad red face, opened discussion of his report. He said he had fought on the front for two years for the Soviet Government, and in the villages everything was getting worse and worse. They were injuring the villages by the corn-collection, there was a lot of scoundrelism in all these economy committees, food committees and soviets of public economy. It had become extremely hard for a poor man to live. We have cleaned the people out of corn and now we howl about it. Ah! He wrung his hands and returned to his place.

"What? Are we to be hungry again?" A second began tearfully from the middle of the arena. He was thin, with a scar on his neck, and he took a long time in telling how hard it was to live on a ration of forty pounds of flour a month, with a family. "There's thievery going on," he added viciously at the end of his speech.

But there were also other speeches and more of these than of the first kind. Workmen and Red Army soldiers walked excitedly into the middle of the arena and, hampered by the unaccustomed attention of the crowd, they made clumsy speeches, upbraided Ziman, but agreed that they ought to hold out stoically. To sit with folded hands, there was no stoicism in that, and they sought a way out, feeling for it, like blind men. But the meeting did not understand their disconnected words, and one orator disputed with the one who had spoken before him, tho both meant the same thing.

And Ziman in the end stopped making notes of criticisms for his concluding speech: small, wretched, he jerked his head with nervousness, listening to the reproachful, seeking speeches, and was worried precisely by those of the speakers who saw somewhere a way out. He did not see it, and muttered, angrily, "Demagogy. . . . Meeting stuff. . . ." And the orators went on spasmodically bumping into glass walls, and could not tell the meeting of their clear plans, but talked of some detail or other, of how, from somewhere, "It would be possible to get axes." The meeting grew excited, and people shouted from their places, regardless of the President's bell. And then a man above middle height, round-shouldered, came out, and took an old blue cap from his square head, disclosing a high forehead with a deep wrinkle in it.

"I call on Comrade Robeiko," said the President, and the meeting tried to be silent in order to hear a speech that would not be loud.

For Robeiko must not speak. He has consumption of the throat. He had not meant to speak, but had listened, and for a long time had been thinking, "Ziman is helpless and cannot see the way out which many of the speakers see but cannot put into words." He thought regretfully, Why had the Party Committee brought this report to a big meeting? And all the time he had waited for somebody to name the way out, to put it into words and save Robeiko from unnecessary suffering. . . . For Robeiko must not speak. Sounds tear his throat into rough red bleeding scraps. But he must say a little, just a few words, and the question will be clear, and all will have bright faces, for all will know how to name the road, the way out, that many dimly see.

He began to speak in a low voice, fearing to awake the pain which just then was slumbering deep in his throat. . . . But nothing could be heard, people stretched out their necks like martyrs, and Robeiko made up his mind . . . his voice, as it were, made a jump, and all heard every word, and all had grateful faces. But every word, like a sharp splinter of glass, rose to his larynx and tore into scraps its delicate fibre and it hurt him so that tears slipped from his eyes, the sweat stood on his forehead, and his voice clanged and broke.

He said that Ziman had told the meeting the truth and that they ought not to reproach him for this. For not Ziman had created this truth; he had told them of the danger, and for that they owed him thanks. Only there was no need to lose their heads; they needed only to look about them and somewhere a way out would be found. It was necessary quietly and calmly to look about them. Surely the party, in its day, had found the way out from worse holes than this. Their strength and wisdom lay in quiet investigation and determined action.

There was a way out. Many saw it but did not know how to talk of it. It was clear enough that the whole difficulty was fuel. If they could get a little fuel they could at once bring wood from Nizhni-Elansk. "And if we have the wood we can in a week bring the seed for the sowing. Everything depends on fuel, on a few hundred cubic sazhins of wood. . . . Where can we get them?"

Obviously, there were many gardens in the town, and twelve versts outside, at the monastery, there were big woods. There was wood for them and plenty of it. In a week the fuel from Nizhni-Elansk would be there and they could begin to bring the seed. But all must be done quickly and decisively; they must themselves take axes and saws, stand at the head, compel the slackers and the bourgeoisie, bring in the Red Army and all the workers. Only, they must hurry; if in two weeks the seed should be here, then in a month the fields would be sown.

But his speech was cut short by a dry, breaking cough. For a minute, for two, he coughed, and the crowd waited eagerly, many, many sympathetic faces gleamed before him, and he coughed on, twisted himself with coughing, and all saw it, were silent, and only took breath, first one and then another.

* * *

The little town under the unchanging sky slept as it were with a heavy after-dinner sleep. In every house geraniums shone in the windows, and on their beggarly but pretentious leaves lay flowers like purple and red flies. Oh, how many of these ash-colored wooden boxes, street upon street of them, how stuffy and close in each one of them! Many grim ikons in the high corner and on little tables, covered with crocheted table-cloths, albums bound in velvet. Dirt in the kitchens, black-beetles running on the walls, and flies dismally buzzing on the window-panes.

The life of the people who live in these crowded houses is like a grey September day, when a drizzle of rain sounds monotonously on the window, and thru the panes, lined with the running drops, you can see a grey railing and a red calf wandering in the mud. So, year after year, this life goes on. Every day early in the morning elderly women milk cows, go to the market with baskets, and then in the kitchen after dinner wash the greasy dishes. And bald-headed men with dull eyes, in old patched breeches and mended boots, go to their work, buy and sell something or other, and work at some industry, each one alone in a dark room. On Sundays the women smooth their hair tightly down, put on purple, yellow or blue dresses, take the children to church, and in the evening gather together to drink tea while the men get drunk with vodka or beer and bump their foreheads on the table.

All of them, at that hour when, dismally drooping its wings, the sound of the bell calling to the Saturday evening services floated mournfully over the town, all of them hid dislike for those who were meeting in the Circus, and this timorous dislike united the whole town in a single black cloud invisible by men. . . .

At this hour Raphael Antonovitch Senator went for a walk, Raphael Antonovitch who lived in the two-storied stone house on the ground floor of which was a chemist's shop.

They had requisitioned the chemist's shop. . . . They had taken down the black board with its affectionately inviting gold letters, "The Rozhdestvensky Drug Store, R. A. Senator." And now, instead of that, insolently, from a red board, black letters were shouting, "Health Department, Communal Drug Store, No. 1."

Raphael Antonovitch stood on the sandy hillock, drank in all the hidden dumb dislike that poured out of the little houses, dissolved in it his own bitter resentment and hatred, and silently sent it all in the direction of the Circus where that incomprehensibly hostile life was going on. A little stout man in a grey coat and a worn hat (one of those hats nicknamed "Good Day and Goodbye") he stood for a long time on the hillock. Little malicious eyes glittered under the brim of his hat, and when he turned round and went slowly off a bit of fat red neck showed and on it a lot of snort black and grey hairs.

He helped his wife in the housework, asthmatically cut wood, took the hogwash to the cow, and while his wife was milking it silently watched the white stream running from under her fingers into dark milky froth. . . . And the regular sound of milking, the peaceful grunting of the pigs behind the railing, the perfume of the cosy, twilit cowshed, all this comforted him and he told his wife:

"I had been at the Khanzhins! Their brother has come from Tula. He says that the end is soon coming. The people are revolting against the Bolsheviks, the Poles are wanting to fight again, and even the workmen in Moscow. . . ."

"God in His mercy grant it," murmured his wife, and Raphael Antonovitch walked up and down the yard with his hands behind his back, counting, as his custom was, the logs left over from the building of the house, for fear lest some should have been stolen.

But, when the grey cloudy day, hiding the joy of Spring so deeply that it was as if it did not exist, ended in a scarlet sunset, and the sun, melting the clouds, gave the earth the last gold of its slanting evening rays, and went off somewhere behind the houses, behind the woods, behind the fields, behind the yellow sandy hillock, and when the clouds hanging over the sunset rejoiced with nervous tenderness at something momentary and fugitive and accompanied the sun with a trembling of elusive singing tones, then by the dark staircase past the dirty water-closet and wash-tub, hurriedly, Raphael Antonovitch fled to his own room and groaned with his asthma.

For, at this scarlet hour of sunset, the "Internationale" proudly floated from the Circus, and, with the power of hundreds of voices was carried over the town to the evening sun, like a red avenging angel, and Robeiko would be coming home at once, for he had taken lodging in the house of Raphael Antonovitch, who did not like meeting Robeiko and was afraid of him.

CHAPTER TWO.

UNDER the quiet light of an electric lamp, in a study furnished in oak, the meeting of the Party Committee began. Robeiko made a short report. He told the comrades of his plan for getting wood. But they were inattentive, talked among themselves in loud whispers, during the report, and smiled friendlily at each other. It was pleasant after a whole day of exhausting, nervous work, to see the familiar faces of their comrades. And consequently the flaming appeals of Robeiko were quenched like sparks falling in water. No one seconded his suggestions, but, when he had finished the report, Ziman proved at length that the whole project was impracticable, that the melting of the streams would prevent the bringing of the wood to the railway, and that there where not enough saws, axes or carts. . . .

Small, like an unpretentious dull figure out of a ledger, he caught by the wing Robeiko's flying ideas.

Then Karaulov objected, the military Brigade Commander, an old Cossack with a dark yellow face, framed in a thin little beard. He puffed out clouds of smoke from his pipe and muttered in a dull voice, "There are a lot of bandits hanging about round the town . . . and here are you proposing to take the Red Army soldiers twelve versts away. For without them you will not cut down the monastery woods. With mobilized bourgeois and half-dead Soviet employees, you will not get far. . ."

And Robeiko, lacerated by his cough, and spattering the rich, flowered purple carpet with spittle and green mucus, replied to Ziman with figures from a note-book and with a hoarse voice told Karaulov that there was no other way out, that the revolution demanded . . . that they would have to take the risk.

"You risk that they will take the town, cut the Communists to pieces, cut off the district from the center for several months. . ." distinctly, maliciously, in a voice not loud but audible by all, said Karaulov and then suddenly raised his voice and cried angrily, "What are you fooling about, Robeiko? Causing a revolt is no sort of joke. Ask Klimin, and he, as head of the Cheka (Cheka is short for the Russian word meaning Extraordinary Commission, the Revolutionary Police dealing with Counter-Revolution, Banditism, Espionage etc., etc.) will tell you what unrest there is just now in the villages."

But Klimin was inattentive and silent. He was thinking of something happy and serene, and his eyes were merry and tender. He started at hearing his name, left his dreams and with unconscious dislike followed Robeiko's words, fully agreed with the quiet objections of Ziman, with the disgusted exclamations of Karaulov, and everything that Robeiko said seemed the result of his invalid fantasy.

"You must exert your wills, to get out of the blind alley. . . . Otherwise we shall have the fields unsown!"

And, coughing, Robeiko pointed with his hand to the darkness of the window. Klimin followed his hand with a glance and looked the night in the eyes; the night was looking simply and sternly into the room, and Klimin imagined the boundless breadth of the wide country, covered by the quiet canopy of the night. The fields waking under the darkening snowdrifts, the fields waiting for the sowing, the mouzhiks (peasants) gathering in black throngs on fine days on the benches by the cottage doors, and talking of the weather, of the harvest, and then remembering that the granaries were empty, that there was no seed, and separating silently, anxiously waiting for help from the town, while with each day of waiting a dark hatred of the Communists, of the food committees, of the Soviets, was rising in their hearts.

And Klimin suddenly understood why Robeiko burned and trembled, understood that there was "no way out," and instantly his practical clear judgment awoke, clearsightedly taking in the whole project, and Klimin thought out in his own mind exactly how to realize it, and, with strong, sonorous voice, he now supported Robeiko.

Robeiko was quite unable to speak, took breath, half-lying on the soft divan, and nodded his head with a smile, listening to the voice of Klimin who instantly attacked Ziman with practical suggestion, when they voted Karaulov alone, "contra," lifted his big strong hand with its crooked frost-distorted fingers. The other members of the Party Committee were alight with that same steady, quiet fire that burned in Klimin's words.

Immediately after the sitting of the Party Committee, the Commission met to which had been assigned the task of realizing the project for getting wood. Its members were Klimin, Robeiko, Karaulov and Ziman.

Tomorrow, under the guidance of the Commission, by the will of the Party, work would begin.

Tomorrow in the newspaper, the leading article would shout to everybody of the danger of famine, of the need of action.

Tomorrow at meetings and assemblies the military Commissars and agitators would explain to the attentive Red Army soldiers that if they wanted to see the fields sown they would have to go and cut wood.

Tomorrow from all the stores Ziman would collect saws and axes while the Communal Economy Committee would mobilize carts.

**Tomorrow Robeiko, with extreme pain for his throat, would carry thru the Trade Union Council a proposal for the mobilization of the Trade Unions, and in the factories the general meetings of the workmen would pass clumsy resolutions. . . . Tomorrow!**

**(To be continued Monday)**

PORTRAITS by PHOTOGRAPHY

12 for $15

BERTRAM DORIEN BASABE
1009 N. STATE ST.
PHONE. SUPERIOR 1961
OPEN ON SUNDAY 12 TO 5 P.M.

FREE ON REQUEST

Our Little Condensed Booklet

"CHICAGO'S ONLY LABOR BANK"

Setting Forth the Idea and Service of the Labor Banks and in Particular

THE AMALGAMATED TRUST AND SAVINGS BANK

371 W. JACKSON BOULEVARD

Tear Out the Coupon and Mail to Us Filled Out.

Kindly send me your Pamphlet No. 2 entitled Chicago's Only Labor Bank.

Name .....

Address .....

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses." —Karl Marx.

Special Magazine Supplement

THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION
Febuary 16, 1924. This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

# The Sickle, the Hammer--and Gompers

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE.

WE Communists contend that Samuel Gompers and the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor which he leads are part and parcel of the machinery of American imperialism.

We go farther than this and state than such policy as this officialdom has for its own guidance consists of aiding American imperialism in carying out its conquests abroad, in adopting the nationalistic viewpoint of American capitalism as its own and in attempting at all times to convince the masses of this country that American capitalism is a different and more altruistic brand than that in operation in other and less fortunate nations.

This means accepting American government as the beginning and end of all working class endeavor and it is on this premise that is based such programs as Samuel Gompers and his henchmen have. The truth of this assertion is altered not at all by the fact that from time to time Gompers refers to the fact that our institutions are not perfect; they are nearer to perfection than the institutions of other countries and that is enough for him. American institutions are the yardstick by which the achievements of the workingclass the world over are measured by American labor's leaders.

**Weird Alliances.**

This attitude naturally leads the American trade union movement into strange alliances—alliances entered into by its officials with very few sops to democracy thrown to the membership in the shape of information and discussion had thruout the movement itself.

Two events of world-wide importance have taken place recently. In the United States there has been a drive for recognition of Soviet Russia followed by the appointment of a Senate committee to investigate the charges and counter-charges made by friends and enemies of Soviet Russia.

In Great Britain the Labor Party has come to power and its first official act was to extend full recognition to Soviet Russia.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the American Federationist for February, edited by Samuel Gompers, devotes approximately eight pages to these two events.

Let us understand that in its loyalty to American capitalist institutions, the American Federation of Labor, as represented by Gompers, yields to no one. Since the Russian revolution, Gompers has even gone one step farther and now considers himself and the trade union movement the especially appointed guardian of American capitalist government.

**The Great Defender.**

The reputation for unthinking patriotism which he acquired as an important cog in the House of Morgan war machine has been considerably enhanced by his activities in his new role of defender of our steel, oil, copper, railroad, shipping and banking government against the attacks of the 25,000 Communists in America. This self-appointed savior of America has thus been able to pose before the Civic Federation and other organizations of employers as the knight in white armor repelling the red hordes of Soviet propagandists.

We find on page 45 of the American Federationist the Gompers credo —the ideological base on which has been erected a political structure in which are ensconced the high-salaried misleaders of the trade union movement.

The structure creaks and groans as the winds of capitalist bankruptcy and mass discontent assail it but to Gompers and his kind the storm is purely an artificial creation of a handful of vicious malcontents under the inspiration of Soviet Russia.

**The Gompers Creed.**

Here is Gompers' confession of faith in American capitalist institutions:

**America has established certain standards of life and living. America has established certain institutions and certain guarantees of freedom. America has established, above all, a certain rate of progress and is working out a certain definite philosophy in regard to her industry and the relation of human beings to industry.**

It is just as well for Gompers that he does not try to be specific and tell us exactly what standards of living, what guarantees of freedom, what rate of progress and what definite philosophy America has established and is working out. We do not intend to ask him to be specific about these things and expose himself to ridicule but we do ask what and who he means by "America."

**The Happy Family.**

No other conclusion is possible than by "America" he means the whole social grouping and that he intends to convey the impression that Americans are one large family which collectively and individually is consciously striving to usher in an era of peace and plenty.

In other words, Gompers, as the official spokesman of the trade union movement, rejects entirely the idea that there are two classes in America. He tells us exactly what Elbert H. Gary, John D. Rockefeller, the plunderers of the natural resources and oppressors of the masses and their mouthpiece, like Coolidge and Hughes, tell us, that there is only one class—Americans.

When the admitted leader of the organized workers of this country promulgates this puerile 100 per cent Americanism we can begin to understand that almost anything can be expected when in his official position he comes in contact with a movement that laughs long and loud at a conception of modern society—European or American—that is at such obvious variance with the facts.

**A Major Mistake.**

Gompers is frightened by the strength of the movement for Soviet recognition in the United States; he has not been re-assured by the recent recognition of Soviet Russia by the Labor Party government now in power in the land of his birth. He has every reason to be alarmed.

Gompers has made a major tactical mistake in taking up the role of Soviet Russia's bitterest enemy, of leading the fight against recognition and of making that fight for the announced reason that recognition would be tantamount to ruin of the American trade union movement.

He has placed himself in a position from which there is no retreat but which is untenable and the recognition of Soviet Russia will in all probability mean the downfall of the Gompers machine.

**Strange Bedfellows.**

Labor officialdom, led by Gompers, has allied itself with the worst enemies of the labor movement. It is the boast of Gompers and John L. Lewis that their Russian policy is exactly the same as that of the state department; in their propaganda against Russian recognition they have not scrupled to use material furnished them by the worst labor-hating administration in American history.

The Senate has appointed a committee to investigate the whole question of Russian recognition, including the charges of anti-government propaganda which Gompers claims his efforts alone have made unsuccessful.

Since the investigation began the whole Gompers machine has been set in motion to disseminate the lies, half-truths and innuendos of Chester M. Wright and William English Walling, the anti-Russian experts of the Gompers administration.

Every labor paper in the country has been furnished with yards of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist material and many of them, particularly those that are privately owned and run in the interest of labor politicians, have printed it.

**Recognition of First Importance.**

Recognition of the workers' and farmers' government of Russia has been made the most important issue before the American trade union movement. Gompers says in the February Federationist:

**There is no question in the whole field of international relations of more importance to American labor than the question of relations with the Soviet autocracy.**

Because the British Labor Party before it became the government announced that one of its first acts would be the recognition of Russia, the victory that followed brings no joy to Gompers. He speaks sneeringly of the tremendous achievements of the British workers.

He takes the opportunity to show again his belief that his policies need never change tho the world may and does. He says:

**So there is in England a situation well worth watching. In what may develop the American Federation of Labor will be deeply interested, but it will find there no reason for abandonment or modification of the political program and political methods which have so long served admirably to cope with the situation in the United States.**

The same yesterday, today, and forever and ever, Amen!

It takes more than a Labor Party government in the British Empire or a workers' and farmers' government in one-sixth of the world's surface to convince the cautious Gompers that labor should have a political party of its own.

**Not Real Reason.**

But is the conservatism of the aged and the hatred of class conscious political action the only reason for the fury which the thought of Russian recognition arouses in the breast of Gompers?

We think not.

Is it a sincere belief that economic action is all-sufficing for the workers that is responsible for the Gompers criticism of the British Labor Party and his campaign against the formation of a Farmer-Labor party in the United States?

Again we think not.

The Communists have a clearly defined program which the experience of the last two years has shown makes a tremendous appeal to the organized workers and which includes amalgamation into industrial unions, a mass farmer-labor party and recognition of Soviet Russia.

Gompers has found it hard to fight against amalgamation and independent class political action by the organized workers; there are no arguments that can be brought successfully against the use of weapons so clearly necessary so the fight against amalgamation and a labor party has been carried on under the guise of a fight against the recognition of Soviet Russia.

**Evading the Issue.**

According to the Gompers propagandists, the Soviet government, the Third International, the Communist Party of Russia and the Workers (Communist) Party of America are striving to enslave the workers of the world and the American workers first of all.

The American Federation of Labor, says Gompers, is the only defense the workers have against the horrible tortures the Communists are preparing to inflict on them.

Amalgamation, class political action, are only devices to distract the attention of the workers until recognition of Soviet Russia is had when the bloody rule of Communism will crush the free-born American wage-earners.

The answer to the demand for amalgamation consists, then, of a recital and denunciation of the alleged atrocities of the Soviet government; the answer to the demand for a class farmer and labor party is the recital of more alleged atrocities—generally furnished by the accommodating department of justice.

The real issue has become the recognition of the Soviet government and upon this issue Gompers stands or falls.

Gompers himself knows this and this is the reason for the deluge of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda that has flooded the editorial desks of every labor paper in the United States reaching flood tide since the Borah committee began its sessions.

**Laying the Ghost.**

Once the Soviet government is recognized by the United States it emerges from the bloody mist with which it has been shrouded by the Gompers propagandists and becomes, for the organized workers of the United States, a reality which they can investigate at their leisure. It will no longer be a horrid mystery to which the Wolls and Wallings can refer in trembing tones and with which they can cause cold chills to chase one another up and down the back of the dues paying membership.

Amalgamation and the farmer-labor party movement then will have to be fought on their merits and not shoved into the background while the scarlet specter of Communism is paraded in front of the rank and file.

Gompers made one of the great blunders of his career when he carried the Wilson war against the workers' and farmers' government of Russia into the unions; he made another blunder when he used the ignorant fear of Communists and Communism to prevent action for amalgamation and a farmer-labor party and he made the blunder of blunders when he made the non-recognition of Soviet Russia a policy of officialdom of the American Federation of Labor.

**Stronger Forces.**

Gompers cannot prevent the recognition of Soviet Russia because powerful economic forces are making it inevitable. He has made a major mistake and he is going to suffer all the humiliation of defeat in his policy of enmity to the workers and peasants of Russia.

Recognition means the loss of his leadership and it also means that he will—if recognition does not actually kill him—live to see the American labor movement progressing steadily and rapidly towards industrial unionism and fighting its enemies on the political field with a mass party as its weapon. These are the terrible consequences that will result from Soviet recognition—they will hardly fulfill the Gompers prophecies of disaster.

The barrage of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda that the Wallings and Wrights are laying down at present is all the evidence needed to show that Gompers realizes—too late—the desperate situation is which he has placed himself.

Gompers has been hooked by the point of the Soviet sickle. The hammer is ready if needed.

# My People

## By CARL SANDBURG

**My people are gray, pigeon gray, dawn gray, storm gray.**
**I call them beautiful**
**And I wonder where they are going.**

# A LENIN LIBRARY IN AMERICA - By JOHN PEPPER

THE Central Executive Committee of our Party made an important decision to publish a Lenin library.

The Lenin library will contain ten volumes, together about 1,600 pages, ten volumes of uniform size. Each volume will have an explanatory preface and notes. Seven of these volumes have never been published before in the English language, and three exist only in incomplete editions.

A Lenin library! Ten volumes of Lenin's writings! One hundred thousand copies of Lenin's works in English! A hundred thousand soldiers of Leninism! A hundred thousand Communist fighters in the United States—not native-born, but English speaking. It is a great, an enormous undertaking. It is the surest sign of the growth and strengthening of our Party, that we can venture it. It is a sign of strength and it will be a source of strength.

The ten volumes of the Lenin library will be the following:

1. Marx and Marxism.
2. Imperialism, the Final Stage of Capitalism.
3. The Agrarian Question in America.
4. State and Revolution.
5. The Shaping of Bolshevism.
6. The Struggle Against the Second International.
7. "Leftism"—An Infantile Malady of Communism.
8. The Organization of the Revolution.
9. The Working Class and the Farmers.
10. The Suppressed Peoples and the Social Revolution.

What was the governing principle in my selection (our Central Executive Committee has honored me with the editorship of the Lenin library) of precisely these writings of Lenin as his representative works?

Lenin's complete writings would make up, not 1,600 pages, but ten times as much. The task in the selection was a double one. On the one hand, to give a good picture of Leninism. On the other hand, to omit everything which would not be understandable to American workers.

The chief aim of the Lenin library is to give a complete picture of Leninism for intelligent workingmen. Lenin was not only the greatest statesman of our period, but at the same time the greatest scholar, in social science. Lenin was the only Marxist who added a new story to the magnificent edifice of Marxism. The guiding spirit of the working class in the Nineteenth Century was Marxism. In the Twentieth Century, Leninism. Leninism is Marxism applied to the present imperialistic period of capitalist society.

Lenin was an orthodox Marxist. During his whole life he fought against eclecticism which wanted to "complete" Marxism from various philosophical systems, such as Kantism, Machism, Dietzgenism (or in the latest period), Freudism. Lenin considered Marxism as a complete outlook on life. Marxism was for Lenin the method of analysis and interpretation of society. If we want to understand Leninism it is necessary to learn to know Lenin's interpretation of the Marxist method of inquiry. The volume "Marx and Marxism" of our library will complete Lenin's essays and articles on Marx and the Marxist method.

With the weapon of the Marxist method in his hand, Lenin carried out the fundamental task of Marxists, the concrete analysis of the concrete facts. Marx for the first time discovered the essence of capitalism. Lenin for the first time discovered the essence of imperialism, the final stage of capitalism. In "Capital," Marx analyzed for the first time the revolution of agriculture thru the capitalist method of production. Karl Kautsky in his "Agrarian Question" explained the revolutionary effect of American competition on European agriculture. But Lenin was the first who gave a concrete Marxist analysis of Russian and American agriculture in two of his works: "The Agrarian Question in America" and "Agriculture in Russia." Marx and Engels for the first time analyzed the role of state power in a class society, and showed that by the development of capitalist society, inevitable necessity goes thru the dictatorship of the proletariat to a class-less and state-less society. The decadents forgot and passed in silence over this basic fact. Lenin's inquiries then again brought the questions of state and dictatorship of the proletariat to the consciousness of the working class. Our Lenin library will have three volumes which give Lenin's concrete analysis of these basic facts of our period. The volume, "Imperialism, the Final Stage of Capitalism." This book of Lenin was never printed in English completely. Only the first half has appeared. The volume "The Agrarian Question in America" is especially timely for us today in the midst of the agricultural crisis in the United States. Lenin's analysis is based upon the 1910 census, but we will bring it up to date by using the 1920 census as well as the new congressional investigation and reports of the government. The volume, "State and Revolution," will comprise the most important studies of Lenin on this theme: "The State and Revolution; The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky; and Material on the Question of the Proletarian Dictatorship.

The concrete analysis of our imperialist period led Lenin to the conclusion that the working class must conduct the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. But at the same time Lenin recognized that the working class itself is not and cannot be entirely uniform, that imperialism itself has the tendency to divide the working class thru buying one part and suppressing the other. The fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat can be waged by the working class only if it is led by a revolutionary party which, against the sectional, regional, national and temporary interests of the working class represents the common, general, international and permanent interests of the working class as an entity. No one has had a clearer view of the role of the Communist Party in the revolution than Lenin. The book, "Shaping of Bolshevism," will present the writings of Lenin which crystallized and made conscious the Party of the Bolsheviki against the Mensheviki.

Lenin from the beginning saw clearly the two dangers which the revolutionary party of the proletarians faces: opportunism and sectarianism. The volume "The Struggle Against the Second International" will present selections from brilliant essays and articles of his which appeared under the title: "Against the Stream." (It is a pity that we cannot print in our Lenin library the masterly articles of Zinoviev which appeared in the same period and in the same book.) The volume of our library entitled "'Leftism,' An Infantile Malady of Communism" gives Lenin's ruthless struggle against revolutionary phrases and for revolutionary realism.

The party of the proletariat, cleansed of opportunism as well as of revolutionary phrase, must begin its difficult march towards seizure of power. The Party must in the first place win the confidence of the majority of the working class and then it must organize the armed revolution itself. The volume of our library, "The Organization of the Revolution," will give those writings of Lenin which he wrote during the period of masterly maneuvering from March to November, 1917, and his analysis of the lessons of the armed uprising in 1905.

But Lenin saw clearly that the revolution of the working class does not take place in a vacuum, that the revolution is never the achievement of a single class, but that it is always a mighty mass movement of the various classes of the suppressed and exploited. With wonderful clearness Lenin recognized—and this recognition is one of the chief pillars of Leninism—that the proletarian revolution in our imperialist period is accompanied by the revolt of the ruined lower middle class, the rebellion of exploited farmers as well as by uprisings of suppressed nations and oppressed colonies. Lenin again and again repeated—and that is another principal pillar of Leninism—that the victory of the social revolution is impossible if the proletariat does not form an alliance with all non-capitalist elements, especially farmers and with the masses of the oppressed nations and races. The volume "The Working Class and the Farmers," will give the most important writings of Lenin on this theme, such as; "The Attitude of the Communists to the Middle Farmers," "The Working Class and the Farmers," the "New Economic Policy in Soviet Russia (The Tax in Kind)." The volume "The Suppressed Peoples and the Social Revolution" will contain those pioneer essays of "Against the Stream" in the self-determination of nations, and Lenin's other studies on the question of nationalities.

That will be the contents of the Lenin library. It is only a part of the tremendous riches of Lenin. But we hope it is a picture of Leninism. It mirrors the train of thought of Leninism.

Our Party, the Workers Party, is today in the midst of the political struggle. We are forced to maneuver. We are forced again and again to give concessions to the great masses of workers and exploited farmers who today are not yet Communists. Our Party is facing great dangers in this maneuvering. One danger is that we see only the masses and forget the revolution: the danger of opportunism. The other danger is that we see only the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and dogmatically turn away from the masses: the danger of sectarianism. Only a Communist education can obviate these dangers for our Party. The Lenin library will be a means to this Communist education.

# NEGRO WOMEN WORKERS - By JEANNETTE D. PEARL

NEGRO women who entered industry during the war are fast learning that their lot is still "the last to be hired and the first to be fired." According to a report just issued by the Woman's Bureau at Washington on the "Negro Women in Industry," a geat number of Negro women are being eliminated from industry and those remaining are most ruthlessly exploited. Their hours of toil range all the way from eight to sixteen hours a day and sometimes longer; their pay is miserably small and the conditions under which they work are most brutal.

The report covers a survey of 150 industries employing 11,860 Negro women. The purpose of the investigation was made in order to create a better understanding and greater sympathy among employers of Negro women with the aim of thereby raising the standard of living. This humanitarian aspiration is strongly coupled with repeated emphasis upon the fact that a higher standard of living will yield increased production.

Negro women found their OPPORTUNITY in industry during the world slaughter when the need for munitions of war created a labor shortage in the labor market. The five chief industries that women entered were textiles, clothing, food, tobacco and hand and footwear. The Negro women in the main filled the gap caused by the advancement of white women into newer and more skilled occupations.

Thirty-two and five-tenths per cent of the 11,860 Negro women investigated were working ten hours a day and over; 27.4 per cent were working nine hours a day, and 20.2 per cent were working eight hours a day. These figures do not tell all of the story. Overtime can and does follow the legal work day. Overtime "is permitted as much as desired." The report tells how workers boast of their thriftiness in beginning work, "before hours, after hours, and working during lunch hour." One worker puts it, "You just can't make ends meet unless you do extra work and often you are left in a hole even at that."

A typical case is cited indicating how these Negro women live for the most part. Rise at five, cook breakfast, dress children, prepare food and attend to things about the house, report for work at 7, leave at 5:30, resume housework on returning home, frequently continuing this work until midnight, dead tired as a result.

One woman worker states "I am so tired when I reach home I can scarcely stand up. My nerves are so bad, I jump in my sleep." Another woman complains, "I'd love to go to the Y. W. C. A., but I am so tired at night, I can scarcely go to bed. If I go out at night, I go where there is lots of life and lots of fun; I'd go to sleep at a lecture or club meeting." Another case cited, "I am so worried and worn in my strength that I feel at times as if I can stand it no longer. It is not alone the need of money but the responsibility of being nurse, housekeeper and wage earner at one time."

The average pay of the Negro women in industry is about ten dollars a week. The minimum wage is calculated at $16.50. When it is taken into consideration that many of these women have dependents and are sometimes the sole supporters of their families, one wonders whether slavery days before the civil war could have been much worse.

The frightful conditions under which most of the Negro women work add to the horror of their wretched pay. They are often segregated because of race prejudice, given inferior and harder work and because of their "ignorance" they are shamelessly cheated, false computation of wages, scales wrong, count wrong, etc. At the end of the week "you never know what you are going to get; you just take what they give you and go." The report points out that there is a strong feeling among Negro women workers that they are not getting a square deal.

Since the Negro women are unorganized they accept the most outrageous conditions of employment. They are not alone discriminated against because of their color and often segregated, but they are made to work amidst conditions the United States government would not permit its hogs to live under. Herded together in terrible congestion, in filth, feted dust-laden, poisonous air, poorly ventilated, still more poorly lighted, these women work and often have to eat in the same atmosphere.

The report points out, "Confronted with the need for food, clothing and shelter and placed in an environment which was unhealthful and sometimes even degrading, they were seen to have lost themselves in the struggle for bare existence."

The treatment accorded most of these workers is well expressed in the words of one of the managers, "They are terribly indolent, careless and stubborn, but we know HOW to handle them. We give them rough treatment and that quells them for a while." Yet another manager observes, "You never saw a group of people so responsive to kindness? In the main, these women are conscious of their industrial experience and showed timidity which was a drawback in acquiring assurance and speed so necessary in factory production. Their patient trust and belief in the better day that should come to them as workers is pathetic."

The report points out that bad working conditions and long hours are a serious menace to the state, that the prosperity of a nation is endangered when its workers are being crippled with exhaustive labor. Loss of human energy, due to excessive working hours becomes a national loss and is bound to lessen the nation's productive yield. The reporter, therefore, recommends legislation for a higher standard of living, inasmuch as a higher standard of living will produce greater efficiency in production and greater profits.

The report would have self-enlightened employers and the State jointly work out an appropriate "award" as compensation for Negro women in the industries. It would be a sort of benevolent industrialism for greater efficiency and greater national progress—for the master class.

To that end is also recommended, "A more conscientious training for efficiency in public schools, thru fostering of pride in achievement, increasing personal and family thrift, and encouraging of constancy toward a given task, would ensure that 'preparation for life' which is the purpose of all education."

Against such "purposes" in education must be posed the Communist method of education, thru labor solidarity making for self-reliance and self-development. Not a "pathetic" longing for a better day, but a resolute expression in action for a better day will result from Communist education.

# Hiram Johnson---His Background

*By DONALD STUART*

HIRAM JOHNSON is interesting and significant as a demonstration of what happens when an expert, noisy, and resourceful politician has his full say and plays his whole string. It is just thirteen years since Hiram Johnson started out slaying dragons in California. He got a big cheer from the people then, nad no doubt he could defeat any other man for any California office today, but a census of dragons—a checking up of the quick and the dead—is perhaps more to the point.

Hiram has an oratorical punch—there's no doubt about that. He speaks with a sort of staccato yelp, with a voice yappant, even ululant, and his physical and muscular intensity endows the obvious and superficial with an entirely fictitious importance. Futhermore, he is happily free from any political convictions or moral scruples, and this, with great shrewdness in discovering and echoing the prevailing platitude, gives him a rare equipment for a statesman. Added to all this, he has one all-dominating personal trait. He has a vindictiveness, a capacity for hate, and a range of bitter memory which enable him to nourish more grudges and go to greater extremes in punishing his personal enemies than any other statesman of today. We may suppose that when Hiram Jonnson was in the fifth grade at school another boy traded him a glassie which was supposed to be an agate. If this really happened, you may be sure Hiram has this boy somewhere in a card index, and he's going to get him some day. That's Hiram.

**Hiram Gets Into Politics**

Hiram was dug up, in 1910 by Bill Kent, Meyer Lissner, Marshall Stimson and a few other reformers who wanted someone to smash the Southern Pacific machine. Hiram was a natural-born prosecutor, who had made quite a stir in the San Francisco graft prosecution, after Heney was shot. He was brave, as a lion, so they said, tho it was noticeable that he didn't come in until after the outbreak of public feeling over the shooting of Heney had made the graft prosecution comparatively safe and respectable.

"Kick the Southern Pacific out of politics" was his campaign slogan. California likes the noisy, bellicose, hell-roaring type of politician. It was no trouble for Hiram to show goods. His heat, fervor, vehemence, sweat and black, macerating passion in assailing the railroad infamies were unparalleled and unsurpassed. He went around shadow-boxing with the Southern Pacific dragon all over the state. Whenever he drove his pudgy, clenched first into the jowl of the monster, he got a cheer which jarred loose all the shingles on the Southern Pacific roadhouse.

When the 1911 legislature convened, our great reform governor offered a prospectus of progressive legislation which actually included cetrain bills for ameliorating labor conditions—the full crew train bill, employers' liability, the industrial accident commission, etc. Hiram Johnson, during many years as a leading San Francisco attorney, had never shown the slightest interest in such matters. But now, all of a sudden, he was displaying a passionate devotion to them. How come?

Tom Finn can tell you how that came about. Tom is a plain, everyday San Francisco politician, and nothing if not direct. In 1911, he was a senator in the state legislature, with the San Francisco delegation in the hollow of his hand. Also, he was politically a creation of organized labor, which was then "in the ascendant" in the Sam Gompers fashion. Finn wanted a wish-washy "labor program" put thru the legislature; also he wanted the water-front patronage, which was a political dish he had been enjoying for years. And, on the other hand, Hiram Johnson wanted the balance of power in the legislature. If Tom handed over the San Francisco delegation, Hiram would have the balance of power. So they bargained. "Do I get my patronage?" said Tom to Hiram. "You do," said Hiram to Tom. "You get the San Francisco delegation," said Tom to Hiram. And the "labor program" was thrown into the bargain and remains as an asset to the doughty labor-politicians in the land where oranges grow on trees and honest workers go to jail.

**Johnson At Work.**

Johnson's chief preoccupation, after taking office, was lambasting his enemies. He went down the line with one philippic after another. He worked a day and night shift denouncing Mike de Young, editor of the San Francisco Chronicle; William H. Crocker, the San Francisco banker; Harrison Grey Otis, publisher of the Los Angeles Times, and Sam Shortridge, a bombastic and rather ludicrous San Francisco lawyer whom he later helped to make United States Senator. "There isn't room enough in this town for Hiram Johnson and Mike de Young," he would yell, and he always got a big hand from his audience.

The years slipped by and organized labor thruout California was forced into the defensive. The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, of Los Angeles, and the allied Chambers of Commerce thruout the state were carrying on a smashing attack, and the game of political trading wasn't working out so well. It was true that there were plenty of labor leaders in the state government; it was true, also, that certain labor bills had been passed—but it was true, nevertheless, that labor was getting the stuffing knocked out of it, and neither Hiram nor the job-holding labor leaders seemed to be worrying any.

William D. Stephens was lieutenant governor. Stephens was a pious stuffed-shirt and a born labor-hater. Johnson went to the United States Senate and left Stephens to take his place. And, Stephens completed the ruin of "progressivism" in California.

And now, getting around to that census of dragons, we find that there are ten on the job where there was one when Hiram first set his lance against them. The Southern Pacific—which in truth never seemed greatly worried about Hiram's denunciations—is back in power. In Los Angeles, Leo Youngworth and Mott Flint, who used to be castigated by Hiram in the old days as "S. P. hirelings," are stalwarts of the Johnson organization. Eustace Cullinan, Johnson leader in San Francisco, and for years the champion of progressivism in northern California, is frankly and openly the hired man of the public corporations and is now attacking the initiative and referendum. Everywhere, in the villages and in the cities, the corporations are ruthless and rampant. The labor unions are hamstrung and impotent and San Francisco, once the citadel of unionism in California, is an open-shop town.

One can't help getting some cynical amusement out of the fact that these old-time political enemies have in later years become Johnson's friends and political allies and his financial backers. They contributed money to his campaign for the Republican nomination, and in return he sent his entire organization out against Bill Kent in the latter's run for the senatorial nomination against Sam Shortridge—Johnson's erstwhile enemy. Kent, you will recall, was one of a few men who started Johnson on his career; incidentally, he furnished the money to start the campaign, and, then and later, gave Johnson many thousands of dollars. But Johnson didn't hesitate a moment when it became advantageous to cut his benefactor's throat. Similarly, he assassinated Frank Heney, whose liberalism, like Bill Kent's, seemed to take on a serious character.

Everybody realizes now that the great Southern Pacific attack was a Weber and Fields performance; the S. P. had a pillow in its pants and it all ended happily. But what about the other big "infamies" which Johnson so gallantly assailed?

There is the whole matter of conservation of natural resources. California has fifteen to twenty million acres of arable land, and it has, flowing to waste, water enough to irrigate it; it has about eight million horse-power of undeveloped hydro-electric energy; it has vast areas of timber, oil and mineral land. As governor of California and as United States senator, Hiram Johnson has not lent the slightest assistance to the effort of the conservationists to save some of this heritage for the people. His acquiescence has allowed the looters to tie these resources up in such a fashion that no political action short of revolution can give the slightest hope of blasting them loose, and in all his entire public career he has never had a single word to say on the subject of conservation. He has left all this wealth to be grabbed, and grabbed it has been! The California Water and Power Act, an initiative measure, was the big issue of the California election last fall. It was a fundamental measure, proposing to vest ownership in the water and power resources in the people and to place state credit behind their development. Who was hired by the utility corporations to defeat this measure? Eustace Cullian, referred to above, who for years has been Johnson's intimate personal friend and who is his leading political representative in San Francisco. How much was he paid for this service? Twenty thousand dollars a year, according to his testimony before the California legislature. Johnson was cynically indifferent to the appeals of Bill Kent, and all the other old time progressives for assistance in the campaign to save the water and power. There's your great liberal statesman.

Johnson's labor record needs but slight comment for DAILY WORKER readers. When an appeal was made to him in Tom Mooney's behalf, he said Mooney ought to be tied up in a sack and dropped in the bay. The infamous frame-up of the strike-leaders, Ford and Suhr, was put over during his administration. The persecution of liberals, which eventuated in the vicious criminal syndicalism law, was well under way while Johnson was still governor.

What did Johnson ever do about the black tyranny of the Kern County Land Company? There is nowhere in America today any more brutal or savage gang, with more crimes recorded against it, than this Kern County gang. The only lawyer who ever dared attack them was shot, his body lacerated with knives and acid poured in the wounds. He was then turned loose on the desert, covered with a coat of tar-and-feathers. He is in an insane asylum. The Kern County Land Company has gone serenely on its way all thru the years of the Johnson ascendancy. Today, they are more strongly intrenched than ever, maintaining an absolutely lawless, criminal rule over a section as large as an eastern state. And they have never received so much as a word of gentle reproof from the dauntless Hiram.

The Miller and Lux interests, the interests of Harry Chandler, legatee of the ill-famed Los Angeles Times, and son-in-law of the old buccaneer, Otis, the great industrial and financial network of Herbert Fleishhacker, Gargantuan banker of San Francisco; the interests of the Hammond Lumber Company, and above all the allied hydro-electric interests, have enmeshed California in a tyranny worse than that found in any other state. And this is the state which has been "liberated" by this implacable foe of privilege, this champion of the common man, this valorous knight of democracy!

Labor crushed; spies, dicks, gumshoers everywhere; newspapers lying and pandering; free speech and free assemblage brutally suppressed; fixers, manipulators, corruptionists, lobbyists and corporation press agents swarming over the state, like an army of snails, leaving a trail of slime—and San Quentin prison crowded with men who have dared assert their constitutional rights of free speech and free assemblage!

Liberated—like hell!

The present governor, Friend W. Richardson, provides just a touch of aesthetic completeness to the picture. He is an all but illiterate, untidy old man, with a walrus mustache and a bitter hostility toward education or literacy in any form. Since becoming governor he has maintained a steady drive against higher education and has all but wrecked the public school system. He has relentlessly attacked every left-over vestage of humanitarian legislation, and has made a complete job of it—without a word of protest from Hiram Johnson. He is owned and operated by the corporations.

The farmers are broke; the unions are smashed; the corporations are in absolute, unassailable control; California, today has sunk down more deeply into the mire of hopeless reaction than any other state in America.

That is the outcome of all the vociferations, all the high-keyed and valorous invective, all his dauntless defiance of the great Hiram Johnson, "progressive" candidate for president of these United States.

**The Chewing Gum Candidate**

**Hiram Johnson—For President.**

## *"My Country" with Many Variations*

By ROBBIN DUNBAR.

My country, 'tis of the-e-e,
Sweet Dome of Doheny
And Harry Sinclair!
Land where 3 Prexies died,
Land of Wall Street's pride,
Oil gushing on ev'ry side,
Of thee I swear.

Wood, Warren and Silent Cal,
Got stuck on the same old gal,
Miss Red Light Oil!
They luv her fancy frills,
No accent of her chills,
Her satchel's full of bills,
Let Tea Pot boil.

"Our Father's God,"—is bunk,
"Our country's flag,"—is junk,
Don't givadam!
Let's loot the treasury
We own H. Daugherty,
Our flag floats o'er the free,—
T'el wid U. Sam!

"We go peacefully towards our aims if possible; with force if necessary."—Karl Radek."

# The Situation in Germany and the Communist Party

By AUGUST THALHEIMER (Berlin)

THE Dictatorship of Seeckt is, step by step, capturing new positions with the same bloodless methods with which it succeeded in obtaining power. It still considers it worth while to retain parliament and the remaining democratic lumber as a sort of screen, but only on condition that parliament, as well as the other so-called democratic institutions, shall be submissively subservient to the military Dictatorhip. The cabinet of Marx, which has succeeded to that of Stresemann, marks a great step in the degradation of parliament and of parliamentary government. It is not only that Marx before forming his cabinet, sought permission of the white General; the composition of the cabinet itself is in accordance with the considered wishes of the white General. Social Democracy was thrown overboard. Nevertheless, the strivings of the junkers to obtain possession of the Prussian administration, in consequence of the dissolution of the great coalition in Prussia were prevented by the General. The reason for this is obvious. It was not advisable having regard to the government of Poincare, and also the English cabinet to display, as it were, the coat of arms of the feuda junkers on the Reichstag buildings. At the same time the General did not deem it meet to present the bread-profiteering junkers openly to the workers. In return for this piece of indulgence the General obtained the appropriate recompense: the Centre, Democrats and Social Democrats, who in Prussia have such and such a number of administrative posts and offices to defend against the Junkers and the old Wilhelm bureaucrats, now prove themselves to be so much the more accommodating flunkeys of the military Dictator. Severing and Brauns fall over one another in their eagerness to slander and persecute the Communist Party. In the Centre and with the Democrats, the right wings (large capitalist and large agrarian) have won the upper hand.

The effects of this were to be clearly seen in the discussion of the Special Powers Act. Not only the governing parties, but the Social Democratic so-called opposition hastened to secure the Special Powers Act for the cabinet of Marx. The mere threat of the dissolution of the Reichstag which, according to their own reckoning would cost the Social Democrats about two-thirds of their seats, and which would sweep away the old parliamentary leaders in favor of the so-called "left" leaders—this threat sufficed to bring the Social Democrats to heel and cause them obediently to pass the Special Powers Act, in spite of all the thousand oaths sworn against the state of siege. This means complete submission on the part of Social Democracy to the military Dictatorship. It is submission to victorious Fascism. It is characteristic that the so-called Social Democratic Lefts were, by the threat of expulsion from the party, induced on their part to submit to the right wing faction majority, and thereby also to the military Dictatorship.

Petty bourgeois Fascism is also being rendered incapable of doing any harm by the triumphant great capitalist Fascism of General Seeckt. A portion of this wing has, after the settlement of the Hitler-Ludendorf-Putch, completely capitulated to the dictatorship of General Seeckt. Another section is being rendered docile by the repressions which are bound up with the prohibition of the German People's Party. Seeckt has attached to himself the organizations grouped around the Bavarian dictator Kahr, by admitting representatives of the Bavarian reaction into the cabinet of Marx.

Meanwhile, General Seeckt is eagerly engaged in extending and completing his own political apparatus. He has brought together the old officers who served in the areas occupied by Germany in Belgium, France, Roumania, etc., in the war, and is using them to control the civil administration and to form the elements of an independent military Dictatorship. The prohibition of the Communist Party is also being taken advantage of by the military Dictatorship in order to still further complete its own political apparatus.

The military Dictatorship, which need no longer expect any resistance on the part of the former bourgeois democracy, is now making it its task to carry out the Fascist program of large capital.

What is this program? Its general features can be inferred from the situation of the German bourgeoisie. It is necessary to set up, if only for transitory period an economic equilibrium. In order to attain this end a dictatorship of great capital has to work in two directions. In the first place there has to be a retrenchment in expenditure by the cutting down of all the educational services of the state, and of the social and political services; secondly, there must be a raising of the capitalist profits and of the income of the state by means of increased exploitation of the working class and of the middle classes, by increasing exports—and by increasing the taxation of property owners. So far as the first is concerned, the discharge of officials and the prolongation of the working time is in full swing. These measures are at the same time being made use of in order to weed out the democratic and socialistically inclined younger sections of the officials, and to create places for the old reactionary bureaucracy as well as for the new adherents to Fascism. With regard to the second, the employers have, by means of ruthless lockouts and closing down of factories, practically made an end of the eight hour day and introduced the nine and ten hour day. The Trade Unions have neither the will, nor were they in a position to offer serious resistance. The unemployed maintenance is being cut down; the same is happening to the other social-political services. But all these measures are in vain if the bourgeoisie does not succeed in bringing in a sufficient amount of taxes in order to balance, if only for the time being, the national and state finances. These necessary sums are not to be extracted either from the working class or the middle class sections of the population. The state expenditure is still only covered to the extent of less than 1 per cent by state income. It is, however, improbable that the bourgeoisie will constitute itself as a Fascist Dictatorship in order merely, to compel itself to yield taxes. There still remain foreign credits. But from whence shall these come? The United States is, perhaps, inclined to grant credits for the purpose of obtaining corn, for which it will take a definite portion of the state property (Mines) as security. But these credits can in no wise be granted on such a scale, as will enable an economic equilibrium to be again set up in Germany. England, too, who also might be considered, does not appear to show any inclination to grant large credits. In a negative manner the attitude of the industrialists in the Rhine and Ruhr districts is a proof of how poor the prospects are considered of balancing German economics and finances. The agreement between the heavy industrialists of the Rhine and Ruhr areas and the Micum (the Belgium and French heavy industry), and the veiled constituting of a Rhineland state dependent upon France—all this proves that heavy industry is submitting to French imperialism and regards the rest of Germany merely as a hinterland.

The Communist Party is forbidden by General Seeckt, its press is suppressed, its printing establishments are confiscated, etc. **But it still continues to live. The Party of the Proletariat is showing itself to be the only power which is capable and willing to offer resistance to the white Dictatorship.** In Berlin and a number of other towns it has succeeded in holding more or less large demonstrations in the streets. It is beginning to set up a resistance to the armed power of the military dictatorship and to school the proletarian advance guard for the deciding struggle.

The central task of the Communist Party in the present situation follows from the teachings of the October defeat. The October defeat of the German proletariat was not the result of "mistakes" on the part of the Communist Party. It arose from the relations of power in the working class existing at the given moment. It can finally be traced back to the fact that a great portion of the working class, under the paralyzing influence of the Right and Left Social Democracy, was no longer prepared to defend the November democracy against Fascism, that it is not yet prepared to fight for the proletarian dictatorship. Social Democracy, long since dead as an active force in the cause of the working class, has shown itself to be still an enormous hindering force, in other words, Communism has not yet succeeded in drawing the majority of the working class away from the influence of Social Democracy. If any fault was committed by the Communist Party it was in underestimating Social Democracy as a hindering force.

The central task of the Communist Party is therefore the complete political and organizatory liquidation of Social Democracy, and the seizure of the Trade Unions out of the hands of the Social Democratic leaders. Upon these tasks the Communist Party will concentrate its entire force. And only when this task has been solved will the conditions be ripe for enforcing a decision. In this connection, it is quite clear that the chief attack must be directed against the so-called "Left" Social Democrats. With their radical phraseology, with their opposition to Fascism in words, and submission to it in deeds, with their strenuous clinging to the illusions of bourgeois democracy and Parliamentarianism they are helpers of the Fascist Dictatorship.

The struggle against Social Democracy and against Fascism will be conducted by the propaganda of proletarian dictatorship and of Socialism as opposed to the Fascist Dictatorship. The Party will continue to propagate with the greatest tenacity the idea of the armed uprising among the masses and to prepare for it by organization and technics. The Party now, after the victory of Fascism over the November Republic, has eliminated from its program the propaganda of those demands which are connected with the democratic institutions and which should lead to the proletarian dictatorship, such as the slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Gov- the control of production. These deernment, the seizure of mines and the control of production. These demands have become irrelevant, for the democratic institutions no longer exist with which they were associated. The actions of the Party must, of course, be connected with the daily needs of the working class. With the present wholesale unemployment and short-time, strikes come little into consideration; so much the greater role therefore will mass demonstrations, party peaceful and party armed, play.

Under the existing strike illegality it is necessary for the Party to base its chief organization work in the workshops. In addition to this it must set up the closest connection between the workers still employed and the unemployed. Under the blows of the white counter-revolution the Party will become the iron cohort of the revolution, which it could not become during the time when it was legal.

The proletarian revolution in Germany has not taken the rapid course which many had expected. Instead of rising out of the ruins of the bourgeois democracy, like the Russian October Revolution, it finds itself in a position when it must organize its victory under the letters of Fascist dictatorship. Its victory, if it comes more slowly, will, therefore, be all the more complete. The great capitalist dictatorship is, so to speak, the last attempt to maintain the capitalist power. In Russia the October victory was, so to speak, the result of a surprise attack. The Russian bourgeoisie only mobilized its reserves after its October defeat. The German bourgeoisie, which is far better organized, is mobilizing its reserves before the defeat. What is now taking place in Germany, is the last round of that struggle between the bourgeoisie and the Communist Party for the reserves, for the indifferent and Social Democratic workers and for the middle class. This struggle for the reserves is the essential content of the political preparation for the proletarian revolution.

The foreign Communist Parties must not allow themselves to be discouraged by the October retreat, which was unavoidable, and was grounded in the total situation. The Communist Party of Germany has, after a short pause, undertaken the reordering of its ranks, and is preparing for a fresh struggle. **The proletarian Revolution in Germany is on the march. None of the fundamental problems of the country can be solved by the military dictatorship.** Our foreign brother parties must clearly understand, that if the Russian Revolution in the year 1917 took a quite unexpected course, which differed from all previous bourgeois revolutions, the proletarian revolution in Germany has its own course, its own tempo and its own methods.

## *Bolshevism*

By EDWARD JAMES IRVINE.

**The Earth was calmly shimmying on its orbit**
**When the Bolsheviks came along and pushed it off,**
**Old God, the most respectable citizen of heaven,**
**Slept peacefully on a couch of rank alfalfa**
**Till the Russian revolution killed Him with heart failure.**
**Then the devil was found to be a good scout after all**
**And was given a job training white guard armies.**

## CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

By EDWARD JAMES IRVINE.

**I chant no more of buttercup and daisy,**
**Or English sparrows twittering on a tree.**
**I am a bird whom capitalists call crazy,**
**I sing of war for human liberty.**


## Rational Living

THE ONLY MAGAZINE considering the worker's health and explaining health in the light of the class-struggle.
—A Radical Magazine devoted to health conservation and exposing dishonesty in all healing professions—
Rational Healing—The Age of Innocence, by S. D. Schmalhausen—Philosophy of the Hike, by W. H. Hull—The Center of Eyesight, by Mary Dudderidge—Labor and Health (Mining)—Child Care—Normal Sex Life—Vegetarianism—The Healers, novel—Health Book Review—Editorials—Illustrations—Etc.—All this in the double current issue—40 cents.

Debate on Chiropractic—20 cents.

The Truth About Insulin and Diabetes—Your Eyes—Rational Healing—Normal Sex Life—An Opinion About Doctor Tilden of Denver—Etc. Illutrated, 30 cents.

The Truth About the Abrams Methods (Best investigation)—What is Cancer, How to Prevent and Cure it?—20 cents.

Says Dr. Haven Emerson, former health commissioner of New York City, in the SURVEY: "Dr. Liber, the faithful teacher and promoter of health, has made a special study of the Abrams methods."

And the editor of the SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN writes: "In the course of our Abrams investigation, we have had ample opportunity to study a great deal of literature on this subject. I do not hesitate to say that your article is by far the clearest and most logical discussion of this very mysterious and elusive subject."

All four numbers together one dollar instead of $1.10—Regular subscription $2.00.

Second enlarged edition of

## *The Child and the Home*

By B. Liber

Most modern ideas on the bringing up of children, by a physician and teacher—Common Errors—Practical Advice—Instances from Life—Sex, Health and Food Problems—For parents and all interested in children—Praised and discussed by Anatole France, G. Stanley Hall, Upton Sinclair, Bolton Hall, Heywood Broun; by many educators, teachers, intelligent parents; by the liberal, radical, conservative, white and colored, medical and lay press in U. S., Europe, Australia, Japan—320 pages.

Cloth, $2.50; paper, $1.50. Together with subscription to RATIONAL LIVING, cloth, $4.00 instead of $4.50; paper, $3.00 instead of $3.50—Address RATIONAL LIVING, Hamilton Grange, P. O. Box 43, New York, N. Y.

# WHAT ABOUT OBREGON AND THE MEXICAN TEAPOT?

By HARRISON GEORGE

THAT the depredation of petroleum imperialists are not confined to Wyoming and California fields is taken for granted by anyone cognizant with the nature of the animal. But as the U. S. Senate investigating committee has a few more shocks coming its way if it carries out the proposed widening of the investigation to include concessions granted American corporations in foreign countries—according to the resolution passed on February 13th—it may be well to break the news gradually and ease the shock.

With that humane consideration in mind, let us lay aside the current daily capitalist newspaper with its stage-thunderous indignation against the "guilty" as distinguished from the "innocent" plunderers of the national resources and its present efforts to check the oily flood before it seeps into the tombs of two dead presidents. Let us recall that Standard Oil was for many years waging a bitter struggle against British interests led by Lord Cowdray for control of Mexican oil resources.

Then, let us read between the lines of the following article referring to recognitions between Albert Fall, then U. S. Senator from New Mexico, and President Obregon of Mexico, as published in the London Daily Herald on Dec. 13, 1920:

**"The plan provides for the prompt recognition of the Obregon regime by the republicans, for a large Mexican loan from American bankers and for the eventual appointment of Senator Fall to supervise the reorganization of the Mexican railways. . . . Passing thru Washington to lay details of the arrangements before Senator Harding at Marion, Senator Fall significantly praised Obregon as a man capable of safeguarding investments in Mexico. A similar unaccumstomed admiration of the Mexican regime is being voiced by the oil magnates and the Hearst newspapers, which have hitherto been notoriously belligerent. Mexico has paid the price for peace with North America.**

The confluence of both republican and democratic politics in the great oil stream will be noticed by the inclusion of Hearst with Fall and Harding. Perhaps this is why Hearst recently traveled a long way to have a little talk with Coolidge. Hearst papers have thus far been untouched by Teapot oil, but how about Mexican oil?

**Fellow Crooks.**

Besides, here is evidence that Fall, intriguer and crook for Standard Oil interests before he was appointed to Harding's cabinet, must have been known as such by Harding—indeed, Fall hurried to Harding as to an accomplice in putting a deal across whereby the Mexican people were ravaged of their oil resources by the same gang that later took the Teapot. Fall, the international shoplifter, seems to have a way with him that presidents cannot resist . . . !

To make it a bit more interesting, let us go back further. Fall, previous to his cabinet position, was U. S. senator from New Mexico. As such he was given the chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Public Lands (nice, cushy job!). All this time he had been connected with Doheny's Petroleum Producers' Association, which organization was leading a propaganda for armed intervention in Mexico, because the "dirty Greasers" had been inconsiderate to American oil and mining interests by writing in Article 27 of the Mexican constitution that subsoil rights should revert to the Mexican nation.

**Wilson, Too.**

John Kenneth Turner, in his book "Shal. It Be Again?" states that, "As condition for the recognition of Obregon, Wilson accepted the terms of Albert B. Fall, which were also the terms of the great financial and industrial interests." Again another president succumbed to the wiles of Doheny's Man-Friday, Fall. But Obregon at that time was telling the seducer that he was not that kind of a girl.

**The Plot Thickens.**

Naturally, something had to be done about it. Fall, as chairman of the committee of the Senate on Public Lands, caused a sub-committee to be appointed with himself as chairman, empowered by some hocus-pocus with the investigation of Mexico. Fall had a girl secretary who seemed to be a pliable lassie. She was sent to Mexico and remained there for eight months, Doheny paying her salary and expenses! She came back like the dove to the ark, or better, like a stool-pigeon, with voluminous testimony to give before the fancy little sub-committee Fall was carrying around. She said that Mexicans were laying waste their native heath and massacring Americans right and left, that neither property nor life of foreigners was safe. And Fall's sub-committee promptly brought in a recommendation to the Senate demanding armed intervention in Mexico. The Senate rejected war, however, and Fall had to use other means.

From the above quotation from the Daily Herald it is seen that as quickly as Harding was elected, Fall made his visit to Mexico City, saw Obregon and finally brought him "to reason" with a deal which would swap recognition by the republicans and a large loan by American bankers for "safeguarding investments in Mexico" and "reorganization of the Mexican railways."

**Wall Street Gets Railways.**

This "safeguarding of investments" was the revocation of the retroactive effect of Article 27—practically nullifying it, and the reorganization of the railways was a turning over of the nationally owned lines of Mexico to private capital—Wall Street. The whole barter and sale of Mexican resources in an itemized way, including this railway reorganization, was finally signed and sealed in New York in the spring of 1923, by Thomas W. Lamont, representing the committee of International Bankers, and Adolpho De La Huerta, then a cabinet officer under Obregon and now leading an abortive revolt.

A resolution was introduced February 13, in the Chamber of Deputies in Rome calling for an investigation of the concessions granted by Italy to Sinclair's oil interests. The Oil Scandal has become international. The American government is uncovered in its nakedness as a prostitute. How about its "sister republic" to the south? How about the Mexican teapot?

## Wall Street's Helping Hand to the Philippines

**The Strikebreaker-Governor General Wood.**

# AT TWO AND THREE YEARS - -

By MYRA MANN.

TRUTH, it is said, is stranger than fiction. Strange as it may sound, infants, at the tender age of two and three years are actually producing marketable commodities. The sceptical attitude of some towards the expositions made by the "New York Welfare Commission" brings back to my mind a recollection of my own childhood; how every naturally children of the working class drift into work; how parents with even the warmest love for their children are forced to send them to work.

As I remember my environment at the age of three or thereabouts I was the eldest of three children. My father tho a barber was forced thru slackness in his trade to work as an unskilled laborer in a railway shop. To add to the meager, insufficient wages he did a little barbering in the evenings.

My nursery, the one room we all lived in, was like a stage. Three times a day the scene changed. In the morning father could be seen disentangling himself slowly, tho not without impatience, from amongst the little arms and legs strewn over and around him in the family bed, swearing because it was cold, yet every now and then throwing out an angry, "Why didn't you wake me earlier, didn't I tell you cold or no cold I'll be sacked if I get to work late. . . . We haven't enough money yet to open up a regular barbershop. The wife, my mother, barefootedly running around preparing his breakfast, would silently gesture to him not to make so much noise lest the children wake up.

**"Well, I don't have to worry about reporting my Income Tax anyway!"**

An hour or so later the scene would change. This same room would become a dressmaking establishment. Now, instead of the bed there was a huge closet with mirrored doors. In these my mother's customers would view themselves in the full glory of their Sunday best. Much bargaining would take place. Once while my mother was fitting a dress my little brother got his finger caught in the wheel of the sewing machine and it nearly drove my mother into hysterics.

In the evening, right after supper, my father's barbershop would be flashed on the screen. The kitchen table placed before the grand mirrors and the red plush covered barber chair pushed up before it would be the signal for my little brother and sister to creep up to my mother to be lulled to sleep on a couple of chairs until the shop was closed and they could be put into bed.

I being considered "a big girl already" was allowed to come near the barbershop section. I was even given a job cutting up newspaper into squares for the soap of the razor to be wiped off on. In that way I made a number of friends amongst my father's customers. One evening one of them asked me with, as I imagine he must have done, a sly wink at my father, "Hey, there what do you want to sit and cut paper squares for a smart girl like you. Buy yourself a razor and a brush so we won't have to wait around so long. What! You are too small! Oh, we can fix that! You stand on a soap box. Just think, perhaps your mother won't have to sew dresses and your little brother will not get his finger caught in the machine because your mother isn't watching him." "Yes," I thought, taking myself very seriously, "I could too. Papa will you buy me the tools?" I asked. "Buy you the tools! That is no way to do business. Go out and work, save your money and then buy yourself tools. "Right again," I must have thought, because no sooner had he said that than I quietly put the papers down; got into my hat and coat and was on my way. Before any one realized what I was doing I was out on the street. No matter even if it was nine o'clock at night and mid-winter at that; my childish imagination was filled with the thought that I was old enough to work and I could see myself throwing hand-fulls of pennies into my mother's lap. A few doors down lived a printer, who like my father, was struggling to make ends meet. I had seen his children tying strings onto cardboard tags so I thought I would ask him for a job. Mother, fearful lest I should catch cold, ran after me but, seeing that I had my heart set on getting a job, she asked the printer to "play the game with me" and give me the job.

The first few days my working was taken as a joke but as the week advanced and the sum of my wages grew to almost the size of a fifty cent piece even my mother was forced to take it a little more seriously. By the time that the second week started tho my interest in the game of seeing who could tie the most strings onto tags was giving way to a desire to play my little brother and sister a fate had taken a hand in my little routine and I continued to work. My father was killed. In his zealousness to make a hit with the foreman he worked in the most dangerous places and met his death under the crushing weight of an overturned car.

So my career as a wage worker began. That a child of three can be taught a few motions necessary for the production of some commodities psychologists will agree. As for conditions making it necessary, one need only go down to the east side of New York City to see that what the New York Welfare Commission has reported is true.

"The defeated of today will be the victors of tomorrow."—Karl Liebknecht.

**The Poor Fish says he believes in the enforcement of the prohibition laws if it doesn't make it too hard to get a drink.**

## The High Cost of Living, 1930.

# WHAT IS BOLSHEVISM?

By GREGORY ZINOVIEV.

This is the Preface to the first volume of Comrade Zinoviev's work, "From the History of Bolshevism."

* * *

APART from the history of Bolshevism in its earliest stages—the oldest of Lenin's works (The Task of Russian Social Democracy) some of Plechanov's works, the old "Iskra," and especially the struggle carried on by these against economism—it may be said that Bolshevism as a broad political current was born almost on the eve of the Revolution of 1905.

The 2nd Party Congress, held in the summer of 1903, merged in a mighty storm of revolutionary strike movements, which spread with ever-increasing violence over the whole of Russia. Bolshevism received its first baptism of blood during the first revolution in the year 1905.

But an ever more decisive trial followed. The Revolution of 1905 was suppressed, the working class thrown back. The tempo of political life slowed down. A stillness as of the graveyard reigned. Faint-heartedness and apostasy became everyday occurrences. Even the ranks of the workers were infected with the canker of bourgeois ideology.

The question as to whether Bolshevism would stand this trial, if it would withstand the fire of counter-revolution, was approximately decided during the five years between 1906 and 1912.

What new contribution was made by Bolshevism in the sphere of political ideology? What fresh paths were opened up by Bolshevism for international Socialism? Of what does Comrade Lenin's discovery consist?

If we had to furnish an answer to these questions in a few words, we should reply as follows:

1. Bolshevism, for the first time in the history of international class warfare, has taken the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat seriously, and has done this by leading into practice paths that which Marx and Engels had merely established theoretically.

2. It is precisely because Bolshevism has opened up the question of the proletarian dictatorship as a practical question of the day, that, for the first time in the history of International Socialism, it has sought an ally for the proletariat.

3. And here lies the highest merit of Bolshevism—it found this ally in the farmers.

4. In this sense it may be said, that Bolshevism "discovered" the role of the farmers, for it recognized that the farmers represent that power, the winning of which alone renders it possible for the proletariat to play its great part of emancipator in the world revolution.

Anyone who has followed the most important moments in the history of Bolshevism—from the first important actual political platform of Bolshevism in the year 1904-5 (Comrade Lenin's pamphlet on "Two Kinds of Tactics" dealing lucidly with the question of the "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry"), to the idea of the "Smytschka," the alliance between workers and farmers, an idea which plays such a leading role at the present time—anyone who has followed all this will have arrived at the conviction that Bolshevism has spoken its decisive word precisely in this sphere.

With regard to the question of the reciprocal relations between the proletariat and the farmers, the contributions of Marx and Engels have only been of the most general nature, and they were not in a position to give more. It has been the task of Bolshevism to impart living flesh and blood to these general formulas furnished by Marx and Engels. The development of the political tactics of the proletariat in such a way as to create the possibility—along with the highest possible formal measures of "equal rights" between proletariat and farmers—of rendering the farmers in actuality the followers of the proletariat, and at the same time "inducing" the farmers to play the part of "reserve" for the proletariat engaged in fulfilling its great historical mission—this has been the great question which Bolshevism has been able to answer successfully. And today it is perfectly clear in all essentials that the most important problems of the proletarian revolution on an international scale tend to follow the same lines—with certain variations—as those which confronted Russia during the last two decisive decades. The tactics pursued by Bolshevism in this particular question of the reciprocal relations between working class and farmers, constitute a factor especially calculated to enhance the international and universal character of Bolshevist tactics.

The relations of the workers to the farmers—this is the most vital thing in Bolshevism. Those who are desirous of comprehending Bolshevism, and those who sincerely wish to become adherents of Bolshevism, must study this side of Bolshevism above all others, must grasp the fact that this is the factor determining the essential character of Bolshevism.

This is by no means asserting that Bolshevism has created, all at once, a complete and finished tactical formula on the relations between the workers and the farmers. Two decades of profound political significance passed between the issue of the slogan of the "dictatorship of the workers and farmers," formulated for the first time by Lenin in the year 1904-5, and the issue of the slogan of the workers' and farmers' government, realized in Russia, and now proclaimed for the whole Communist International by International Communism. But even at the very beginning of its political existence, Bolshevism represented a real approach to the solution of this problem—the problem that dominates all others. The first sign of life in Bolshevism may be said to have been expressed by this fact.

Bolshevism has developed in the highest organic manner in regard to the question of the estimate of the part played by the farmers. In the year 1905, Bolshevism regarded the farmers solely as possible "temporary allies for the proletariat in the bourgeois democratic revolution. The farmers were anxious to aid the proletariat in making a clean sweep of Czarist despotism, and in solving the agrarian question in a "plebeian fashion." They were anxious to release the productive forces of Russia from their restraining fetters, and to lead the country thru free class struggle to a democratic republic, which was again to serve as the arena in which the working class was to fight for socialism. By the year 1917, Bolshevism was already according a much more important role to the farmers, a role corresponding to the fact that social development as a whole had in the interim attained a much higher stage, and that the main class—the proletariat—was already at work on the immediate socialist revolution.

But if this be the case—many of our readers may retort—were not the adherents of the "permanent revolution" theory right with regard to the Bolsheviki in the year 1905?

By no means.

The theory of "permanent revolution" ignored the farmers. It failed to observe the enormous significance—in many respects the decisive significance—of the farmers in a country like Russia, and not only in Russia.

Yes, in the year 1905 the view held by Bolshevism was that the impending revolution would only be a bourgeois democratic revolution. Even as late as 1916 Bolshevism still held to this viewpoint to a great extent (see the well known theses issued by the central organ of our party, published in the collection "Against the Stream,") and in the year 1917, after the February revolution, Bolshevism took an abrupt turn towards the idea of immediate socialist revolution. The difficulties of the transition were exceedingly great. These difficulties caused the committal of many errors, and especially of errors made by the author of these lines in the autumn of 1917. But it is only phrasemongers and superficial observers who can maintain that this change took place "suddenly," and that it supplies a proof that Bolshevism was wrong in 1905. Those who so judge forget one thing: That 1905 and 1917 are divided by an epoch-making decade of decisive significance for the whole politics of the international proletariat—and forget that the two following "small" events took place during these twelve years, first, the first imperialist world war, which lasted four years, shook not only Russia, but the whole of Europe, to its foundations, demanded the sacrifice of 10 million human lives, rushed the world bourgeoisie into historical downfall with the rapidity of an express train; secondly, February, 1917, saw the overthrow of that Czarism which had been for so many decades the main obstacle in the way of any kind of movement for freedom, not only in Russia, but all over the world. Czarism fell. And the February revolution, closely bound up with the great war, called upon the scene such mighty forces from among the people (above all from among the farmers, as the army was a farmers' army) that the proletariat of the towns was enabled to undertake tasks of a far wider extent.

In the years 1905 and 1917 Bolshevism took the farmers as it found them. Neither in 1905 nor in 1917 did Bolshevism ignore the farmers. And precisely here lay the fundamental power of Bolshevism, imparting it an inexhaustible force. Any one who dreamed, in the year 1905, of setting before the Russian farmers those tasks which they were capable of coping with in the year 1917, after the imperialist world war and after the February revolution, would have been a Don Quixote.

Is it possible, for instance, to draw any comparison between even the French farmers of the pre-war period and the French farmers after the war? Even the French farmer changed entirely in many respects during the war years, 1914 to 1918. Had the slogan of the "workers' and farmers' government," for instance, been proclaimed in France in the year 1910, it would have been nothing but an empty phrase. And in the year 1923 it is an earnest revolutionary deed. And yet the transformation undergone by the French farmers in the period between 1914 and 1918 cannot be compared in the slightest degree with that undergone by the Russian farmers during the same time, for the simple reason that France's agrarian revolution had already taken place several generations before, and the agrarian question could not play such an important role in France, during the period from 1914 to 1918, as it did in Russia.

The farmer question has also been the main bone of contention between Bolshevism and the tendencies hostile to it. This question has been the cause of the profoundest differences of opinion. Menshevism adopted the line of the so-called "all-national opposition." Menshevism considered that the low grade of culture possessed by the farmers rendered them incapable of any historical act whatever. The Menshevist estimate of the farmers has in actual fact been highly counter-revolutionary and domineering.

The fights of 1905 suppressed the working class for a long period. The farmers continued their uninterrupted slumbers. The conclusion arrived at by the Mensheviki from these facts led them to a profoundly pressimistic view as to the possibility of any renewed revolution whatever; and having thus renounced all revolutionary prospects, Menshevism regarded it as its leading task to adapt itself to the limitations of Stolipin's legality, and to create a real "European" Social Democratic Party. This counter-revolutionary estimate of the role of the farmers gave rise to all that followed.

If the working class had been victorious in the year 1905, the Mensheviki would have been able to join forces with it for a time. The proletariat was defeated. And it is not agreeable to unite one's fate with the defeated, So thought and felt many Menshevist social democratic super-party and non-party groups of the intelligenzia.

In the year 1905, at the moment when the success of the revolutionary proletariat had reached its highest point, all of these intellectuals—from Minski to Toffi, from the Kuskova to the rich engineers of the "Union of Unions" attached themselves to the proletariat. But in a trice all these intelligenzia and would-be revolutionists forsook the proletarian emancipation movement.

The intelligenzia began to desert the party and the revolutionary movement wholesale, to boast of non-partisanship. It became the right thing to find fault with the party. The idea of a non-partisan "workers' congress," played off against an illegal revolutionary party, was objectively counter-revolutionary in character.

Disputes began on the fundamentals of the program and tactics, tho at first in the milder form of disagreements on questions of organization. The first contest between Bolshevism and Menshevism, in the year 1903, commenced in mere disputes over organization matters.

In the year 1908 the tendency towards liquidation became very evident. The tendency itself began to be felt in Petrograd as early as the beginning of 1908, if not at the end of 1907. But the expression, "liquidation"—as we clearly remember—first arose in the middle of 1908.

A serious struggle arose within the Bolshevist faction itself. The epoch of counter-revolution gave rise to "Otsovism," and to such excrescences as the notorious "God's image" idea. Hatred of the opportunist tactics pursued by the minority of the Duma faction at first induced even a number of revolutionary Bolshevist workers to support Otsovism. Therefore, the first articles which we issued against Otsovism were of an exceedingly cautious didactic character. It was not until later on, when A. Bogdanov and Co. atempted to utilize the trend of feeling among the Bolshevist workers for the purpose of forming an Otsovist faction that we adopted a sharper tone. The victory of Otsovism would have signified in reality the destruction of Bolshevism. The cherished hope of the Mensheviki—that Bolshevism would degenerate into a mere sect, and cease to be a mass party—would have been best fulfilled by the Otsovist "tactics." It was not until Bolshevism had carried thru an additional campaign against the attempts at liquidation from the "left," that is, from Otsovism, rightly termed by us "Menshevism reversed," that Bolshevism was finally steeled and strengthened, and could demonstrate its right to existence.

Why did we devote so much attention, at that time, to fighting against the "conciliation" tendency? Why did we deal our heaviest blows against the "center"? All these tendencies were represented by numerically insignificant groups, incapable of exercising serious influence on the labor movement.

Where we differed in opinion from the "center," these differences of opinion were naturally of a productive character. We were divided from the Menshevist camp by differences of opinion in matters of principle. But the advocates of "conciliation," in supporting liquidatory Menshevism, in repeating its arguments, and even lending it cover by granting it an external appearance of allegiance to the party, were even more dangerous for a time than the liquidators themselves. I recollect that Rosa Luxembourg, when asked why she and her friends devoted so much attention to the fight against the German social democratic "center," instead of simply routing the revisionists, she replied: "If it is still worth while to rout the revisionists at all, it is only if the centrists are combatted at the same time." In Russia the state of affairs was similar. The openly expressed ideas of the adherents of liquidation, smacked so much of betrayal, that they at once aroused the antagonism of the revolutionary workers. But the treacherously veiled ideas of liquidation, improved by the idea of "unity," and associated with "party allegiance," were much more able to lead the workers astray.

The years 1909 to 1911 witnessed a rapprochement between the main core of the Bolsheviki and G. M. Plechanov. The old revolutionist reawakened in Plechanov during these years. He could not reconcile himself to the idea of liquidation.

"Martov proposes that we drop the designation of 'Party' "—thus wrote Plechanov to us—"and Martov ought to be hanged for making this proposal."

At the same time the orthodox Bolsheviki approached nearer to Plechanov in the course of their struggle against the philosophical revisionism of Bogdanov and Co. Our first attempts at the establishment of a legal Marxist press in Russia (the periodical Misl in Moscow, the newspaper Sviesda in Petrograd, etc.) met with appreciable support from Plechanov. It is much to be regretted that Plechanov took up with Menshevism again later, when a fresh revival in the labor movement took place, and the most important problems of revolution reappeared. And when the war began in 1914, Plechanov went over into the camp of social chauvinism. The main core of the Bolsheviki, headed by Comrade Lenin, gathered around it the whole elite of the Russian workers and piloted the party safely past all rocks and shoals.

# THE TRANSITION - - -

By J. T. MURHPY

TRUE to the spirit of make-believe which characterizes parliamentarism the transition from the Baldwin Government to the MacDonald Government had to be carried thru with all the formalism and ceremonial associated with the change of Governments. The Baldwin Government made the King's speech as if it were going to carry on for generations. The King and his horses trotted up to the House of Lords to open the proceedings in all majesty as did the kings of old. Standing before his throne he read to his Lords and Commons the strange shopkeeper's document in all seriousness, asked God's blessing upon everybody and departed. The commoners ran back to their own little show where the king is not permitted to attend and began to repeat the performance in there own sweet way.

Two members of the Conservative Party dressed in the Court dress of centuries ago gravely attempted to represent no party, and read the speech to the House of Commons in the language of the age their dress represented thus:

"I beg to move: 'That an humble address be presented to His Majesty as followeth:

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects in the United Kingdom of Great Britian, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament.'"

After this most moving resolution the mover proceeded, "Dressed as I must be in the mode of the age of Fontenoy and girt, as I am, with the weapon of that age, it is not my duty to commence the onslaught, but rather, having made a few observations on the Gracious Speech, to make what I believe has been called the gesture of Fontenoy and say to honorable Members opposite: 'Gentlemen of the Guard, fire first.'"

He then made references to the resolutions of the Imperial Conference and considered them binding upon the Parliament. Of course, he got disillusioned on that matter later, but observe the affectionate terms with which he spoke of the Dominions. "Of those Dominions we may well say: 'The lot is fallen unto us in a fair place; we have a goodly heritage.' What, one wonders, would any other nation in Europe, in these times of darkness and distress, give for those vast territories and varied resources which are at our command?"

And so the game went on and concluded with a final prayer that they would be worthy of "the blessing which His Majesty invokes upon them." Then followed another in court dress of the same period who also pleaded, "The main theme which runs thru the Gracious speech from the throne is the plea for stability. Without that neither our Imperial development nor our foreign relations, nor our home reforms can possibly proceed on their steady course of growth and improvement."

Then Mr. MacDonald continued the first act to its conclusion by flattering congratulations to the mover and seconder of the resolution for the admirable performance. He said, "Still, my function, my duty, in congratulating the mover and seconder of the address to his Gracious Majesty is most sincere, after listening to the two honorable members today."

Then the fun began on the twentieth century platform. MacDonald began at once to strip the address of what he called, "the stock in trade of a penny bazaar." This he did as effectively, say, as Mr. Lloyd George. But the most important statements for the workers are those relating to his new position in the Parliament and his disovowal of the class character of his position.

"No, I am not at all sure that I am sorry no party has a majority, because I think that if this House is to go on for a century or so, and always with a Government in it that has a majority of votes in its pocket, before the end of that century there will be no private members rights left. * * * I was thinking only of Parliament as a great national institution which I wish to leave behind more powerful, more respected, and with more authority than it has even in our own days."

Here at one stroke is the surrender of the Labour Party to Parliament, the affirmation of the individual against the party, and, the pledge to the strengthening of the Capitalist institutions which can only be done at the expense of the workers. But if anything more was wanted to complete the picture and to justify every criticism the Communists have made against the Labour Party leaders the following from the same speech fills the bill. When challenged as to his interpretation of "the Nation's Government," he replied,, "I do not distinguish between the Nation's Government and the King's Government. The Nation's Government—the King's Government—must be carried on." The determination of MacDonald and his colleagues is thus clear—to demonstrate that they can run capitalism better than the capitalist parties.

"* * * What is the real situation. Nothing can be more absurd than the contention that, because by voting for this amendment, the House of Commons is giving a blank cheque, a free license, to the successors of the Government to do what they like with the interests and institutions of this country. * * * We of the Liberal Party are pledged to give no more countenance to Socialistic experiments than to a Protectionist policy."

There was really no need to be alarmed. The speech of MacDonald had nothing alarming in it, and by

## A Guardian of Civilization

**Reaction's Ambition.**

But the Conservatives have a clearer conception of the significance of the advance of the Labour Party than have the Labour leaders themselves. They see beyond the intentions of MacDonald and his colleagues and recognize their leadership as a temporary thing. They see the rise of the working class and their bitterness even at this stage knows no bounds.

Both in the debate in the House of Commons and in the Press, they have bitterly criticised the Liberal Party and appealed to it to make a class alliancec against the Labour Party. Sir Frederick Banbury talked about the coming necessity to call in the Horse Guards to do what Cromwell did at an earlier period. The Christian Dean Inge talked of exterminating revolutionaries as the only means of exterminating the disease of revolution, as he was of the opinion that imprisonment was a more costly and uncertain way of sweeping away the disease. Mr. Churchhill got into a panic and tho soundly defeated in the elections of 1922 and 1923, he appealed to the Liberal Party to vote against the "Socialist Party" and has thus driven himself into the camp of the conservatives.

The leader of the Liberal Party disposed of the campaign as a whole and emphasised that the Labour Party would not be permitted to introduce any of their socialist nonsense. He said, "I have never come across more virulent manifestations of the epidemic of political hysteria. Notwithstanding my own compromising past—I am supposed to have been the associate of rebels, and worse than rebels, in days gone by—I have been in turn, during these weeks, cajoled, wheedled, almost caressed, taunted, threatened, brow-beaten, and all but blackmailed, to step in as the saviour of society."

the time that Clynes and Thomas had given their quota every property owner in the country could breathe freely at least for a time. Mr. Clynes emphasised that the Empire should be dealt with in a non-Party spirit, as something above Party. Whilst Mr. Thomas amplified the power and dignity of the Empire. But Mr. Hodges, the ambitious young man of the Labour Party put the tin hat on the whole proceedings. After referring to the horror which characterised some of the honourable members speeches at the thought of a Labour Government he went on "What is more extraordinary is that there is a possibility of Labour coming to Government in the easy, quiet, non-revolutionary manner that it is coming to power. There might have been some occasion for horror if the democratic movement of Great Britian were coming to power as the democratic movements in other countries in other days. Then it came to power, perhaps temporarily, thru riot, revolution and bloodshed. Here it is coming to power by the constitutional genius of our people. * *" and so on until one gets tired.

The voting time came. The government fell. Mr. MacDonald was made Prime Minister and he changed his trilby for a top hat fitting "the traditions of his high office." Then came the new government. Of the Cabinet proper only nine are drawn from the trade unions. The remaining 17 are drawn either from the middle class or the aristocracy.

From the standpoint of Parliamentary democracy MacDonald has scored in the direction of blending the classes, the right, the centre and the left. Old Conservatives and Liberals are drawn in, in the persons of Lord Chelmsford and Lord Haldane. The former has been out of politics for twenty years. He was placed in charge of the admiralty and knows as much about ships and naval requirements as he does of the life of the workers. Apparently neither is essential in a Labour Government. But other anomolies are the appointment of F. Hodges to be his undersecretary. Hodges comes from the Miners. But Shinwell who is secretary of the Marine Workers Union is sent to look after the mines.

These are incidentals in the new arrangemnts. What is more disappointing is the acceptance of office by the leaders of the Clyde socialists whom we had hoped to be the rallying ground in the Labour Party itself, anticipating the maneuvers of MacDonald and drawing to itself, along with the Communist Party, all the results of the resentment which is bound to arise in the process of MacDonald's attempt to stabilize capitalism.

We are in the midst of big industrial disputes which are likely to expand during the coming months. The immediate policy of every member of the Government is in the direction of the strengthening of conciliation boards and compulsory arbitration, etc. The whole Labour Party leadership is now utterly bewitched with the Parliamentary success. Even Lansbury has gone off the handle and appealed to the industrial movement to have "patience," to look to the Labour Government first, etc. If it were not that Lansbury's actions are usually unconstitutional and contrary to his pacifism we should dispare of him. And now Wheatley, MacLean, Stewart, practically the leadership of the Left wing in the Labour Party are tied to the wheels of office and debarred from playing their true role as the rallying forces of the discontented in the Labour Party.

But their decision is the Communist Party's opportunity. It is now the only Party of the workers outside the Labour Government, the only centre to which the workers can turn for alternative leadership. For the Communist Party every moment is now rich with opportunity. The big increase in its vote during the elections and the important part we played in returning many Labour men to parliament will make the Labour Party leaders think twice bebore daring to renew the open attack upon the Party. The last eighteen months have demonstrated the futility of the policy. Hence whether the Labour Party now gives way and permits affiliation of the Party, or whether it continues the campaign against us, the Communist Party is forthwith the new centre of gravity for the discontented and disillusioned of the working class.

# THE CROW AND THE GREAT MEN -

By CHARLES ASHLEIGH

(Written on reading Mrs. Ethel Snowden's Article on Lenin in the London "Daily News," January 21st, 1924.)

ONCE there was a very great man. Like most really great men, he was quite simple in his personal life. He had hearty friendships, and he enjoyed a jest amid the hurry and turmoil of his labors.

A ragged little scavenging crow came flying over the plains to the city where the great man lived. She perched upon the walls, and watched him going about his daily business; and she was angered at the great love and respect shown by the people for this man.

The little carrion bird primped her ragged feathers, stretched her scraggy neck this way and that, and piped with a loud and rather hysterical shrillness.

"I also am great!" she cried. "Look upon me!"

And she began to twitter little songs, little songs about the great man and his comrades, and about the work upon which they were engaged. Rather base and dirty little songs, they were, and also they were not true; but they were of no great import. And the people were too intent on their great tasks to hear the little crow; and the few who did hear just shrugged or smiled as they passed by. And this made the little crow angrier and angrier, and she twitched and bridled more and more, under her absurd raggedly feathers, with outraged conceit. And she flew away, and no more was heard of her for many a day.

Then, one day, the great man died. He died in the midst of his work, and because of the great burden of his work, which is the noblest and most desirable death for all true men to die.

And, when the little crow heard of this, she came flying back again.

She came back to the place where the body of the man lay in sun. His limbs were at rest, at last. His strong, steady hand lay still. His face, rugged and powerful, and beautiful because of the love and intelligence of the man, was turned, in death, fearlessly to the sun. His eyes, those eyes in which once played the lights of understanding and of humor, and which had once shamed the little crow, were turned towards the sun. The warrier's battles were over; the worker's task was done.

Then the little scavenger fluttered excitedly down. She perched upon the dead man's white forehead. She began to peck at those fearless eyes.

"You see," she cried. "This man is nothing. I always said so. It is I alone who am great!"

# Boris Pilniak, the Greatest of Russian Writers

By VICTOR SERGE.

(Note: In a later issue of the Magazine Section of the Daily Worker we will print one of the most remarkable of the short stories by this young Russian whom Trotzky rates as the greatest of the writers produced by the revolution. The story has been translated by Louis Lozowick who is an authority on the latest art and literature of Soviet Russia and who will continue to translate and write for the Daily Worker.)

* * *

PILNIAK is decidedly the most characteristic and the most celebrated of the Russian authors. His first work appeared in 1920 in the Moscow state edition. He writes exclusively about the Revolution. He has written a novel, called, "The Bare Year," as well as a couple of volumes of short stories: "Tales from Petrograd," "Ivan and Maria," which embrace the whole of the Revolution.

Pilniak's manner seems strange at first. But it is in absolute harmony with the spirit of the time. He writes rather in the style of futurist painters. It would be utterly impossible to describe the Russian Revolution in the style of a Balzac describing the sordid and monotonous life of a father Grandet, as well as with the utter indifference, the finish and perfection of style, with the absolute harmony of the whole of the detail—which we witness in Anatole France's—"The Gods Athirst." It is only the writers of the time to come that will be able to describe the Revolution. We, as well as Pilniak, are incapable of doing so. The Revolution, which has done away with so many forms of the past, has alike cleared up many a literary prejudice of the past.

It is hopeless to look for a continuity of events in the work of this author. Intrigue (how pitiful this expression) does not exist. No chief and secondary figures either, in his work. The movement of masses in which every single figure is a world for himself, representing in himself completion. Events rushing in and overpowering one, numerous human lives intermingling, each of which always represents in itself an occasion never to be repeated. The whole of them, in the end, of not much importance on the background of "Russia," the snowdrift and Revolution, for the country, the snowdrift, and the masses, are the only things remaining and stable. The exterior aspect of Pilniak's work corresponds to the contents of it. The pages often wear a somewhat strange aspect. One page carries the description of an old priest among his ikons, breaking under the burdens of his sins. Suddenly the narration breaks up and one hears the people in the street passing by, talking; a new interruption, and in comes, tearing along, a hungry, howling wolf with bared teeth. This constant change of description and pictures requires, of course, different aspects of the page. The reading of this book is, in a certain sense, rather bewildering. But the final impression is strong and powerful. Pilniak is under the influence of the masters of later years, such as Andrei Biely and Alexei Remizov, but he resembles them in manner only, and not in contents.

He has such a lot to show and to describe, and to bring out in his book, that every manner and form is oppressive to him. He lets life drift where it will. Classicism is of value, but in shapes long existing. In the "Bare Year" we find eight beautifully treated subjects: the little bourgeois, the dying aristocracy, the sectarians, the anarchists, the monastery, the train number 57, the peasants, the bolsheviks. But the same stern unity reigns over all on account of a totality of the varying dynamics, as in some heroic symphony. In the course of the story "Ivan and Maria," the shouting of a miner, who has nothing whatever to do with the story is repeated, a black slave of international metallurgy, who quite inert and apathetic from his work seeks his couch for his nightly rest. But what a number of idyllic and psychologically fine novels would require just such a refrain in order to bring them back to the actualities of life!

The LEITMOTIV of the whole of Pilniak's work is the snowdrift, the most Russian of things. Pilniak's style is often extremely musical. The author leaves nothing unobserved, he is anxious to communicate and give back everything he sees, and everything that impresses him. In a word, dynamism, simultaneousness, absolute rythmical realism, these are the dominant features of his literary form. We must not forget to mention his love of exact detail, of the minutest description of customs, of the sentence caught up in the street, all of which are simply given back without any particular commentary, exactly as some historian would note it.

Pilniak's interest seems to concentrate itself chiefly on the manners and customs of the Revolution, and this chiefly in the country and the provinces. The general play of action of his stories, is the small town (Riasan the Apple. or Ordynin Town) in "The Bare Year," which he really does seem to thoroly know. What is the chief thing that he observes? The swamp of the past. In the small, provincial town the petty bourgeois leads a life not much better than that of a pig, between his counter, the well laid table, and the warm, sweaty, dirty bed under the saints' pictures. He is brutal towards the weak, hard and of unbending will towards the oppressed—servants, women and children; self-satisfied, egotistical, ignorant, heir of a thousand similar years.

War took the the young men out of the swamp of the small towns. "As Donat came back, he had learned nothing new, but the old was not forgotten, and be wanted to destroy the whole of it. He came in order to create." He hated the old. The dread of it occasioned by the mighty shock of Revolution is one of the chief reasons of Revolution.

In this stagnating swamp of the times gone by the former rulers are abandoned to ruin on account of their weakened spirit, and their poor blood. In a word, it is an historical judgment that weighs over them. The princes Ordynin (whose fathers once founded the town of Ordynin) are at present syphilitic and are approaching their end. The old father is waiting for it, surrounded by his ikons, and practicing self-castigation. Egon is a drunkard, stealing and selling his sister's last clothes in order to drink (this is the year 1919).

Chapter VII of the "Bare Year," called, "without a tit.e," consists but of three words: "Russia, Revolution, and snow drift." The beauty of Russia's landscape blends with the drift of Revolution. One never knows how to discern them in Pilniak's stories. I do not think that it is even necessary to do so. Pilniak compares old Asiatic Russia to the Russia of today, which he sees rising out of the drift, and we must admit that he sees it extraordinarily well, and that is his chief merit.

Listen to this conversation taking place in a rolling train . . . "In a hundred years people will speak about the actual times as about the period of life when the human spirit rose to a glorious standard . . . well, but my shoes are very worn, I really would like to go on a trip abroad, to eat in some good restaurant and to drink a decent whisky." These are the terms in which a young engineer is thoughtfully speaking in Pilniak's book, quite like reality in new Russia; it is not the engineers that are life's masters. This leads us to the bolsheviks. Pilniak flatters the Revolutionaries. The gloomy pages as well as the nightmare ones are indeed not scarce in the course of his work. You see in his book peasant women paying with their own flesh and blood for a place in a filthy train full of bugs, a typhoid fever transport train, escaping out of the famine region. A little further a hysterical Chekist, shooting down her lover. Peasants are described buying coffins for the whole of their family in advance, as they are quite sure not to be spared either by famine or typhoid fever. The book contains pages full of terror, one is, however, not quite sure whether the accents of it are real or pretended. Western people are yet not fully aware of the martyrdom that Russia underwent. Pilniak seems to be quite well informed, and writes it down accordingly with the blood of his heart. His constant aim is to be as close to exact truth as possible.

In the drift there is but one kind of people that remains upright, and these are the Bolsheviks. In the morning they used to meet in the convent (strange times indeed!). Men not unlike leather, in leather jackets, almost all of them tall and manly looking, handsome and strong with hair curling out of their caps, pushed deep into their necks. Each of them had an excess of will in his tensed muscles, in the expression about the mouth and forehead, in the soft and decided movements of the lithe bodies, heaps of will and audacity. Here we are before the elite of the Russian people, one of the oldest in existence. And it really was a good thing that they used to wear leather, because thus the sweat lemonade psychology could not soften them. The whole of their bearing said "we know well what we are about, we have made up our minds." Here is one of them described more particularly: "Archip Archipov used to spend his days in the Executive, in writing, and the evenings about town, in the factories, lectures, and meetings. He used to write knitting his brows, holding his pen almost like an axe. In his speech he used to pronounce the foreign words incorrectly. He was an early riser, and in the morning he crammed and crammed as much as he could; algebra, political economy, geography, Russian history, Karl Marx's Capital, he had a German grammar, and a dictionary of Russianized foreign words by Gavkin.

Father Archip, on receiving the information of his having cancer, condemning him to awful sufferings and unavoidable death,, goes to his son, and talks to him about it: "do you believe it to be a wise thing to make an end of it?" he asks him. An impressive scene follows. "I believe I'd do it if in your place, father, but of course you must act as you think best." "Live, my son, go on working, marry and bring up children." Not a word more is wasted on this occasion, both remain decided and sure as to the next thing to be done; the one for going on living, the other to blow his brains out.

Everything in Pilniak's works is tense and painful, except a lighter passage following this stark one. A couple appear in it. A Bolshevik couple, strong and simple, both of them, and of an extreme inner honesty. The man Archipov speaks to the girl called Natalia, whom he wants to have for his wife: "I am always in the factory, in the Executive, quite taken up by the revolution . . . as a young man I have had some love affairs, I have sinned with women. But it did not last. I have never been ill. We shall work together. We shall have handsome children. I want them to be sensible, well, you know, besides you are better educated than I am. But I won't give up studying. We are young and healthy." Archipov hung his head. She consents with no less simplicity. One might be inclined to think that these revolutionaries are afraid of, and trying to avoid the passionate impulses that burn in a couple who are about to mate . . . "Yes, children, that is the chief thing, but I am no longer a young girl. The man shrugs his shoulders. Chief thing is to be human." Cleanliness, reason! "Love or no love," she goes on speaking, "we will have an intimacy of our own and children, and then work, work, my love! There will be no lies betwen us, no suffering!" Archip turned silently back to his room. The word intimacy was not mentioned in Gavkin's dictionary of the Russianized foreign words. Has the author, perhaps, been trying to idealize the Bolsheviks? It does not room. The word intimacy was nat the will to establish a new form of life is their dominating trait.

Surely Boris Pilniak has seen other heroes than those during the revolution in Russia. But the Bolsheviks are the most deliberate ones, conquest is in them, simplicity, reason, conscience, will.

In the meantime the Russian anarchists are proclaiming a passionate philosophy of strength, "who are free under a black banner," working in the fields of a confiscated prince's estate, at the same time during which the Revolution was fighting on its whole front. They do not attempt to seize the leadership in Revolution, but they drift along, making use of it wherever they please. "Natalie had again a feeling of the Revolution carrying her off to some region of joy where, however, sorrow was always following every tempest of joy." . . . They work, work, love, dream and fight. And their adventures end, as has often been the case in the Ukraine. When the old emigree, Harry, asks for his share of money, which was seized in Ekaterinoslav, Youzik refuses to give it. Shots are fired in the night! Free people murder others no less free. They have murdered the handsome young woman because of money, they have murdered the woman who has tasted the violent joys of Revolution. And thus the black banner turns to be the shroud of the young dead thing. The Soviets send a troop of soldiers who occupy the forsaken commune. Somewhere Pilniak writes: "I remained in the free commune Peskis up to the day when the anarchists killed each other."

I wonder whether I have succeeded in pointing out the strong realism of this new author, the strength of which is sometimes so overpowering that the immediate impression of things and particulars stifles the totality of the impression. This realist has a cult of energy and strength of man, beast and even nature. "The strongest among men are the revolutionaries and among beasts of prey." Pilniak likes to introduce the life of wolves into the lives of men who are in a state of mutiny. "Thru wind and snowdrift in the sinking darkness, are the wolves trotting at the heels of each other a grey herd, males and females, the leaders ahead, and soon snow had covered their traces. (Ivan and Maria.)

Some of the stories of Pilniak from the years '18 and '19 are extremely remarkable on account of their being radically different from his new things. The oldest ones are exactly in the grey dull tones of Tshechov's worst period; the drama of the spleen in the utterly uninteresting life of a little bourgeois woman. The other ones, a shade better, describes the same sensations, as was usually done in the pre-revolutionary time. Life which had no issue on account of its utterly incurable mediocrity. Without the mighty uproar of revolution it is not at all unlikely that the author would have remained in the old current, and would not have added much to Russian literature. Boris Pilniak owes everything to the Russian Revolution, up to his style even; it was the revolution which gave him the originality of his talent, the insight in the development of things, the broad view with which he embraces boundless Russia, rich in suffering and struggle, the vision of surging strength, the whole of those things which were quite hidden to the authors of the old regime. That is one of the chief reasons why one is sorry to find in his writings only an intuitive perception and a primitive admiration of the revolution. What does this revolution want? A reader must be quite possessed and overcome by this idea on shutting this book.

What is the whole commotion about? Is the author capable of giving an answer to this? The lack of ideology, one might almost say, of convictions, deprives his work of a foundation. But it is precisely for this reason that it acquires in our eyes a quite particular value; because it is the best proof of his spontaneity, the frankness of his statements. This work shows both in form and subject, how deeply the author, who himself admits to being neither a communist nor a revolutionary, is fully permeated by the spirit of revolution.

After having finished a commercial school, Pilniak left the provincial nest, in which he spent the heroic years of 1917-1921, but to supply his need in potatoes and flour. The whole of Pilniak's interest is sacrificed to the social life interests. But our opinion is that he does not misunderstand the ideas, the influence of which, is but too well known to him. The totality of the ideas of a class of society that is struggling, carrying off victory and power, becomes an enormous factor in the renovating process of customs, this is the idea running thru all of his work. The new author is not yet in full possession of the whole of his strength. He is as yet not entirely clear, he is confused, hasty, bombastic, uneven, but despite all this, his work is today a beautiful grand song on the revolutionary energy of Soviet Russia..

(Translated from the French by H. Goering.)